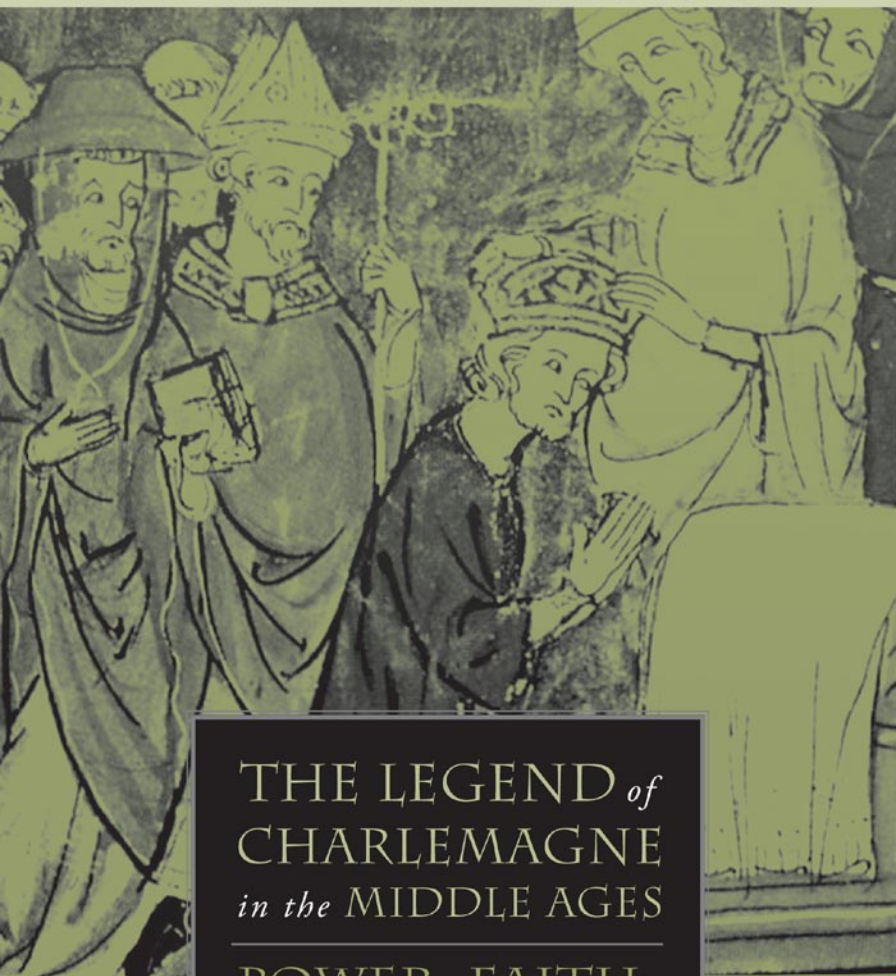


THE NEW MIDDLE AGES



THE LEGEND *of*
CHARLEMAGNE
in the MIDDLE AGES

POWER, FAITH,
and CRUSADE

Edited by Matthew Gabriele
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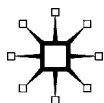
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THE LEGEND OF CHARLEMAGNE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

POWER, FAITH, AND CRUSADE

Edited by
Matthew Gabriele and Jace Stuckey

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PROLOGUE

Matthew Gabriele

Two of my favorite stories set in the Middle Ages involve the Emperor Charlemagne (768–814). The first has Charles sending emissaries to his friend, the Islamic Caliph Harun al-Rashid. While in the East, the hunting prowess of German dogs and their Frankish masters so impresses Harun that he recognizes Charlemagne’s superiority as ruler. Thus, Harun decides to give Charles “the land which was promised to Abraham and shown to Joshua” (the entire Holy Land), although pragmatism dictates that, given the distance that separates the two rulers, Harun would remain the land’s caretaker on behalf of Charles.¹ Mighty impressive dogs.

The other story begins with Charlemagne journeying to the East to prove to his queen that he is the greatest king on earth. Along the way, Charles visits Jerusalem, where he meets the patriarch (and is mistaken for Jesus!). Then, on his way home, Charles does find a potentially greater king than himself in Hugo, king of Constantinople (Byzantium). After enjoying Hugo’s hospitality, Charles’s vassals boast of their superiority over their Byzantine hosts by telling of the great feats they could each accomplish. Hugo asks them to back their claims up and they do, thanks to Charles, the relics he procured at Jerusalem, and the intervention of an angel. So impressed, Hugo becomes Charlemagne’s vassal, after which Charles and his army return to Paris.²

Recently, there has been an explosion of interest in Charlemagne. In the past ten years, eleven full-length, scholarly studies have offered new insights into him and his historical context.³ One should also add to this list the numerous more general full-length studies of religious, social, cultural, political, artistic, scientific, and economic aspects of the Carolingian age.⁴ Then, there are studies on the historiography of Charlemagne.⁵ But this collection does not follow that path. It is not

about *that* Charlemagne—not about the Frank who ruled in the late eighth and early ninth centuries.

Instead, this collection is about other Charlemagnes. There is the late ninth-century Charlemagne whose dogs so impressed Harun, the twelfth-century Charlemagne who proved his worth during his visits to Jerusalem and Constantinople, and the countless other Charlemagnes who featured prominently in the art, history, and literature of the centuries succeeding 814 C.E. All of these Charlemagnes may be different, exotic, even “fictional” if you will, but they still contained some sort of truth to an audience in the central Middle Ages.⁶ The chapters presented in this volume are about an idea, or cluster of ideas, that came to be associated with “Charlemagne” during the late ninth through twelfth centuries. To talk about Charlemagne during this period was to evoke something more than a man, something larger. This is, as Eugene Vance has noted, Charlemagne as discourse.⁷

And just like the study of Charlemagne the man, the study of that cluster of ideas—the Charlemagne legend—has similarly enjoyed a rebirth of sorts in recent years.⁸ This volume will showcase some of the variety, complexity, and subtlety of the manifestations of the Charlemagne legend during the Middle Ages. In the process, our authors will touch on themes such as memory, kingship, apocalyptic expectation, and crusading. The list could go on—and hopefully will in further studies.

In our introductory section, we open with two complementary chapters, both drawing out themes such as Carolingian ideals of kingship and Frankish identity that will be more fully developed in subsequent chapters. Thomas F. X. Noble looks at the ninth-century “raw materials”—the main documents—with which later manifestations of the legend were constructed. He reflects on the long shadow that Charlemagne cast over his descendants and on how changeable his legacy was in the generations immediately following his death. Next, Paul Edward Dutton considers the *how* and *why* of the transition from “Charles” to “Charlemagne.” Attacking these “raw materials” from a quite different angle, Dutton fundamentally reconceptualizes the significance of the epithet *magnus* that so quickly became attached to the Carolingian’s name. In doing so, Dutton elegantly demonstrates the role of Charlemagne’s court, especially his poets, in this process. The Charlemagne legend, in effect, began within his own lifetime.

Part I takes up the complex, varied memory of Carolingian rulership, ultimately derived from Charlemagne but sometimes only obliquely referenced, as that memory passed into the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Through close textual analysis of Ademar of Chabannes’ early eleventh-century *Chronicon*, Daniel F. Callahan discovers two great opposing forces

at work: the first a great evil in the form of the Caliph al-Hākīm as antichrist, and the second a great good in the form of Charlemagne. For Ademar, Charlemagne was such an ideal ruler that he would soon return from the dead to battle the forces of evil as the Christian Last Emperor. The Last Emperor, but in another guise, is the focus of the next chapter as well. Taking as his cue the election of Godfrey of Bouillon as ruler of Jerusalem after the First Crusade, Jay Rubenstein explores how Adso of Montier-en-Der's Carolingian understanding of empire guided the barons' choice of Godfrey over his main rival, count Raymond of Toulouse. Here, the model for Godfrey and his supporters was not Charlemagne *per se* but rather a more general memory of Frankish (Carolingian) kingship based on aspects of Charlemagne's reign but with the man himself removed. Wendy Marie Hoofnagle centers her study on Anglo-Norman England in the twelfth century. Scholars of medieval England have often assumed that Charlemagne played little or no part in the image making of the Anglo-Norman kingdom. Hoofnagle, however, demonstrates the central role of Frankish ideas of *imperium*, again derived from Charlemagne's reign but without the explicit focus on the man himself, in informing Anglo-Norman identity as new rulers of heterogeneous peoples.

Part II looks at some instances of how Charlemagne himself was used in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Elizabeth Pastan revisits the thirteenth-century Charlemagne window in Chartres cathedral. Traditionally, scholars have tried to locate the meaning of the window by looking exclusively at Charlemagne. Pastan, however, turns this traditional interpretation on its head by suggesting that the window may indeed *use* the image of Charlemagne as crusader and relic collector but is really intended to authenticate the relic of the Virgin Mary's *sancta Camisa*. Jace Stuckey then picks up on one small theme in Pastan's chapter, as he traces the evolution of Charlemagne's legendary journey into Spain and how his image was slowly transformed into a crusading archetype. Finally, Anne Latowsky investigates the conscious interplay of parallel, rhetorically charged scenes in the Latin *Descriptio qualiter* and the Old French *Voyage of Charlemagne*—two popular narratives of Charlemagne's journey to the Holy Land—and reveals a relationship of meticulous engagement between the texts.

Notes

1. Notker the Stammerer, *Gesta Karoli Magni imperatoris*, ed. H. F. Haefele, MGH SRG n.s. (Berlin, 1959), 12:64.
2. *Le pèlerinage de Charlemagne*, ed. and trans. Glyn S. Burgess (Edinburgh: Société Rencesvals British Branch, 1998); also Anne Latowsky's essay in this volume.

3. *Charlemagne: Empire and Society*, ed. Joanna Story (Manchester, U.K.: Manchester University Press, 2005); Alessandro Barbero, *Charlemagne: Father of a Continent*, trans. Allan Cameron (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004); Paul Edward Dutton, *Charlemagne's Mustache and Other Cultural Clusters of a Dark Age* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); Céline Bathias-Rascalou, *Charlemagne et l'Europe* (Paris: Vuibert, 2004); Matthias Becher, *Charlemagne*, trans. David S. Bachrach (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003); Giovanni delle Donne, *Carlo Magno e il suo tempo* (Milan: Simonelli, 2001); Dieter Hägermann, *Karl der Grosse: Herrscher des Abendlandes: Biographie* (Berlin: Propylaen, 2000); Jean Favier, *Charlemagne* (Paris: Fayard, 1999); Ivan Gobry, *Charlemagne: Fondateur de l'Europe* (Monaco: Edition du Rocher, 1999); Roger Collins, *Charlemagne* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998); and Franco Cardini, *Carlomagno: Un padre della patria europea* (Milan: Rusconi, 1998). Rosamond McKitterick and Janet Nelson also have biographies of Charlemagne forthcoming.
4. Just a few English-language examples, listed alphabetically by author, include Warren Brown, *Unjust Seizure: Conflict, Interest, and Authority in an Early Medieval Society* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001); Donald A. Bullough, *Alcuin: Reputation and Achievement* (Leiden: Brill, 2004); Celia Chazelle, *The Crucified God in the Carolingian Era: Theology and Art of Christ's Passion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Ann Freeman, *Theodulf of Orléans: Charlemagne's Spokesman Against the Second Council of Nicaea* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003); Yitzhak Hen, *The Royal Patronage of Liturgy in Frankish Gaul to the Death of Charles the Bald (877)* (Woodbridge, U.K.: Boydell & Brewer, 2001); Richard Hodges, *Towns and Trade in the Age of Charlemagne* (London: Duckworth, 2000); Rosamond McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Joanna Story, *Carolingian Connections: Anglo-Saxon England and Carolingian Francia, c. 750–870* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003); and Adriaan E. Verhulst, *The Carolingian Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002). This list does not even include the numerous regional studies that recently been published, such as those by Matthew Innes and Hans Hummer (among others), and does not include works in languages other than English. To do either of the above would multiply the texts listed exponentially.
5. See Robert Morrissey, *Charlemagne and France: A Thousand Years of Mythology*, trans. Catherine Tihanyi (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2003); Joachim Ehlers, *Charlemagne: L'Européen entre la France et Allemagne* (Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2001); and Karl Ferdinand Werner, *Karl der Grosse oder Charlemagne? Von der Aktualität einer überholten Fragestellung* (Münich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1995).
6. As Monika Otter has noted, fictionality depends primarily on the truth claim of a text, not its truth value. See Monika Otter, "Functions of Fiction in Historical Writing," in *Writing Medieval History*, ed. Nancy Partner

- (London: Routledge, 2005), p. 112; also Suzanne Fleischman, "On the Representation of History and Fiction in the Middle Ages," *History and Theory* 22 (1983): 305–6; and Leah Shopkow, *History and Community: Norman Historical Writing in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Washington D.C.: Catholic University Press, 1997), pp. 1–2.
7. See Eugene Vance, "Semiotics and Power: Relics, Icons, and the 'Voyage de Charlemagne à Jérusalem et à Constantinople,'" *Romanic Review* 79 (1988): 170–1.
 8. Jace Stuckey, "Charlemagne: The Making of an Image, 1100–1300" (Ph. D. diss., History, University of Florida, 2006); Matthew Gabriele, "Imperator Christianorum: Charlemagne and the East, 814–1100" (Ph. D. diss., History, University of California, Berkeley, 2005); *Karl der Grosse in den europäischen Literaturen des Mittelalters: Konstruktion eines Mythos*, ed. Bernd Bastert (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2004); Anne Austin Latowsky, "Imaginative Possession: Charlemagne and the East from Einhard to the *Voyage of Charlemagne*" (Ph. D. diss., Romance Languages and Literature, University of Washington, 2004); Federica Monteleone, *Il viaggio di Carlo Magno in Terra Santa: Un'esperienza di pellegrinaggio nella tradizione europea occidentale* (Fasano, Italy: Schena, 2003); Max Kerner, *Karl der Grosse: Entschleierung eines Mythos* (Cologne: Bohlau, 2001). The dissertations noted above are all in the process of becoming books. In addition, although older, Robert Folz, *Le Souvenir et la légende de Charlemagne dans l'Empire germanique médiéval* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1950); and Susan E. Farrier, *The Medieval Charlemagne Legend: An Annotated Bibliography* (New York: Garland, 1993) should be mentioned as the best starting places for any investigation of the Charlemagne legend.

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This volume was born in Kalamazoo, MI, growing from a core of papers on the medieval legend of Charlemagne given at the International Medieval Conference at Western Michigan University in 2005. Its roots, however, run deeper and the present volume owes much to a chance meeting between the editors when they were just graduate students, each afraid that the other was writing the same dissertation as they. Fortunately, that was not the case and no one needed to have a nervous breakdown.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AASS	<i>Acta Sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur</i> , ed. Jean Bolland, et al. (Paris/Rome:V. Palme, 1863–1919).
CCCM	<i>Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio Medievalis</i> (Turnholt: Brepols, 1971–).
Folz, <i>Souvenir</i>	Robert Folz, <i>Le Souvenir et la légende de Charlemagne dans l'Empire germanique médiéval</i> (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1950).
MGH	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i> (Hannover and Berlin, 1826–).
PLAC	<i>Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini</i> .
PL	<i>Patrologiae Latina</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1841–64).
SS	<i>Scriptores</i> .
SRG	<i>Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum</i> .
SRG n.s.	<i>Scriptores rerum Germanicarum, nova series</i> .
SRM	<i>Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum</i> .
RHC Occ.	<i>Recueil des historiens des croisades. Historiens occidentaux</i> , 5 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1844–95).

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INTRODUCTION

CHARLES TO CHARLEMAGNE

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CHAPTER 1

GREATNESS CONTESTED AND CONFIRMED: THE RAW MATERIALS OF THE CHARLEMAGNE LEGEND

Thomas F. X. Noble

Shortly after Charlemagne died (28 January 814), an anonymous monk of Bobbio lamented the emperor's passing.¹ A few stanzas convey a sense of the poem:

From lands where the sun rises to western shores,
People are now crying and wailing.

Alas for miserable me.

The Franks, the Romans, all Christians,
Are stung with mourning and great worry.

Alas for miserable me.

The young and old, glorious nobles
And matrons, all lament the loss of their Caesar.

Alas for miserable me.

Francia has endured awful wounds [before],
But never has suffered such a great sorrow as now.

Alas for miserable me.

Surely, one feels, this was the universal sentiment at the death of the majestic Charlemagne. But this was not so. Soon, some revealed doubts and voiced criticisms. Then, as the ninth century wore on, Charlemagne's reputation shifted from the secular and concrete to the religious and mythical. Recent work demonstrates some of the many ways in which the history of Western Civilization can be read into and out of the changing

views held by passing generations on the great figure of Charlemagne.² The following pages take a more limited sweep, aiming to make accessible the “raw materials” from which later readings of Charlemagne were constructed—readings as can be found in the other chapters in this volume.

Not long after Charlemagne’s death, his son Louis undertook a series of steps that were at once indicative of his own conception of the imperial office and critical of his father’s discharge of that same office. On arriving in Aachen, Louis was concerned about “debauched” people at court and summarily dismissed his sisters, whose immorality was seen to be a blemish on the court and on his father’s reputation.³ Louis also sent *missi* throughout the realm to “do justice and to relieve the oppression of the people” and they discovered a “numberless multitude” oppressed by the counts or their subordinates.⁴ Ermoldus Nigellus says, coyly, that Charlemagne had been too focused on war and had unwittingly permitted abuses to crop up.⁵ In 822, at Attigny, Louis sought generally to make amends for all injustices committed by himself or by his father.⁶ In effect, the early years of Louis’s reign had authorized criticism of Charlemagne and his regime.

During the 820s, explicit accusations of injustice and oppression turned into more delicate criticisms of Charlemagne himself. In the first instance, criticism took the form of dreams and visions, beginning with the monk Wetti (recorded in prose and then in verse). On November 4, 824, the Reichenau hagiographer and schoolmaster Wetti died after having related a series of visions. Shortly after Wetti’s death, Heito, then a simple monk at Reichenau but formerly abbot of the monastery (806–23) and bishop of Basel (803–23), wrote a prose version of the visions recounted by Wetti to the monks gathered around his deathbed.⁷ An angel had led Wetti on a tour of the afterlife where he had seen monks, priests, and bishops punished for worldliness, greed, and immorality. Wetti saw heaps of wealth piled up by counts who had abused their power—some of whom he recognized—and the counts themselves in torment. This moralizing criticism is interesting but would hardly have gained much attention had Wetti not seen a certain prince (Charlemagne) “who had once reigned over Italy and the Roman people,” now with an animal gnawing at the unfortunate prince’s genitals. Wetti was amazed that a man who had done so much for the Church was suffering so. The angel-guide said that even such a man as this cannot escape punishment for sins of the flesh, even if eventually Wetti was assured that the prince would pass on to the realm of the blessed.⁸

A few years later, Walahfrid, a Carolingian “young man in a hurry,” wrote to his former teacher Grimald, then a chaplain at Louis the Pious’s court, to say that he was forwarding his verse rendition of Wetti’s vision, which the otherwise unattested Adlagis had requested to be prepared.⁹ Walahfrid was in this instance much hemmed in by his need to follow Heito’s prose version. In only one respect did he alter the received text. The opening letters of verses 446–61 spell out, in acrostic, CAROLUS IMPERATOR.¹⁰ Heito’s mild discretion was abandoned. Charlemagne was consigned by name to otherworldly punishment for sexual misconduct.

One is tempted to wonder whether certain stories that gained currency later in the Middle Ages might also have arisen in the context of these moral censures of the 820s. A late ninth-century life of St. Amalberga says that Charlemagne was smitten, followed her everywhere, and once rushed into her oratory and seized her so violently that he broke her arm.¹¹ A later tale insinuated that Charlemagne had incestuous relations with his sister Gisela and that he gave her, already pregnant, to Count Milo of Angers in marriage. The child she bore was Roland.¹²

The *Vision of the Poor Woman of Laon* adds to the moral dossier on Charlemagne.¹³ The text must be West-Frankish for there is no obvious reason for anyone else to have associated it with Laon. Nevertheless, its manuscript transmission is almost entirely south German, and it regularly circulated with Wetti’s vision, usually following that text. Hubert Houben has plausibly suggested that Heito himself redacted the text. How the story actually got to Reichenau is an open question but the fact that it did so suggests that it enjoyed some currency when Wetti’s visions were circulating.

The Poor Woman’s vision criticizes Charlemagne, his son Louis, and Louis’s first wife Irmingard. In a state of ecstasy, a man dressed in a monk’s habit showed the Poor Woman a place where the saints were reposing peacefully and wrongdoers being punished. The “Prince of Italy,” obviously Charlemagne but unnamed as in Wetti’s case, was among those being tormented for some unspecified sin. She did say, however, that Charlemagne would be released from his torments if Louis performed seven *agapes*, which is probably to be understood in the sense of alms, or meals for the poor.¹⁴ The Poor Woman also saw Pico (Count Bego, “who was a friend of this king”) lying on the ground while two demons poured molten gold into his mouth saying, “Because in the world you were always thirsty like this, but could never be satisfied, drink now until you are full.” Bego held offices under both Charlemagne and Louis, and was Louis’s son-in-law, but the Poor Woman explicitly connects him

with Charles. In this respect, her vision parallels that of Wetti who saw counts—almost certainly Charlemagne's counts—being tormented for corruption. The rest of the Poor Woman's vision heaps blame on Louis and on Irmingard for the "murder" of King Bernard of Italy, reminding us again that these dream texts possessed powerful contemporary political messages.¹⁵

Around the same time, a monk named Rotchar, perhaps from St.-Benoît-sur-Loire, went to the infirmary after morning prayers and fell asleep.¹⁶ An angel appeared to him and led him on a journey culminating at an inexpressibly beautiful house in the form of a throne. Rotchar saw a multitude of saints, including Charlemagne who approached him and identified himself: "Son, you ought to know that I am Charles." Charlemagne went on to say that his presence among the saints was owed to the "devout prayer of my faithful men," thus implying that Charlemagne had passed some time in punishment and purification. The text continues with accounts of monks, some of them named and still alive in Rotchar's monastery, who were being tortured for various failings. This monastic criticism appears to have been the actual purpose of the text, but one must wonder why it contains a rather gratuitous account of Charlemagne's escape from punishment.

One more bit of moral criticism falls into these years. Shortly after Abbot Adalhard of Corbie died in 826, Paschasius Radbertus wrote his *Vita Adalhardi*.¹⁷ Although Adalhard was Charlemagne's cousin and served him in several important capacities, his *Vita* does not lay particular stress on Charlemagne's reign. Nevertheless, Paschasius says that Adalhard, even though still a youth, "chose to become a friend of justice and truth rather than consent to unlawful proceedings."¹⁸ The unlawful proceedings he had in mind involved Charlemagne's repudiation of his wife, the daughter of the Lombard king Desiderius. Paschasius insisted that the woman's dismissal was unlawful, and that Charlemagne's taking of a new wife was illegal and implicated the king in perjury. The early years of Charlemagne's reign may have been fraught with political and diplomatic tensions but Paschasius put his emphasis squarely on Charlemagne's immoral divorce and remarriage without any consideration of the wider context.¹⁹

In addition to this more or less explicit "oneirocriticism," and its possible echoes, there is another dreamy text from the late 820s that contains one, or perhaps two, implicit criticisms of Charlemagne: *De imagine Tetrici*, by Walahfrid Strabo.²⁰ The poem of 262 hexameters is complex, rich, and difficult in both its language and its meaning. Young Walahfrid (he was 20 or 21) was preparing a *laus imperatoris* and went into Aachen's courtyard. There, in the presence of several statues,

including one of Theodoric that Charlemagne had brought from Ravenna in 801, Walahfrid went into a dream-like state. First, he had a Boethian-influenced dialogue with *scintilla* in which he related most of what he wanted to say about Theodoric and Charlemagne. Then he turned to some peculiar reflections prompted by Aachen's organ and followed these with a series of rather conventional panegyrics on the members of the imperial family and a few courtiers. Michael Herren has perceptively interpreted the poem as a typological exegesis of Exodus 28 and 32, with Louis as Moses.²¹

Charlemagne's presence hovers over the poem. Yet, what Walahfrid says about Charlemagne is never as positive as what he says about Louis the Pious, the "new golden age," and the second-generation imperial family:

We see that the ages which the ancient poets call golden
have arrived in your time, great Caesar.
You fill with your goodness whatever is able to be lacking.
Let others have treasure for their ornament; may you be
More distinguished for your merits.²²

A few lines later Walahfrid makes explicit this distinction between ornament and merit:

You [Louis] rule a people called to the beauties of paradise
Over temples built upon sacred stones, great king.
Your famous father at one time enhanced their importance.
His golden effigies sport at the tops of columns,
To his genius I do not apply the teaching of Plato.²³

Near the end of the poem, Walahfrid explains this reference to Plato: "Only then does a prosperous republic arise / When kings are sufficiently wise and wise men are kings."²⁴ So, to Walahfrid, Charlemagne lacked a certain kind of wisdom that has evidently emerged in the new age. His failure to be wise is somehow tied to ornament, to treasure, to effigies (perhaps of himself, perhaps of others) that he either permitted or erected; the fact that Louis is compared to Moses in the poem suggests that ornament, treasure, and effigies ought be connected with the Golden Calf.

One must remember that Walahfrid's musings were prompted by a "golden" (actually bronze) statue of Theodoric that Charlemagne had brought from Ravenna.²⁵ Early in the poem, Walahfrid wonders why the statue of Theodoric had been fashioned. *Scintilla* answers with a savage critique of Theodoric, who was proud, miserly, greedy, wretched, tyrannical, and a plunderer of the poor.²⁶ As Herren has noted, *Tetricus*

represents a wordplay on Theodoric's name, but not as a translation or Latinization. The word is a confection built from *taeter* ("harsh," "gloomy," "cruel").²⁷ It is by no means clear that Walahfrid was trying to characterize Charlemagne in this unflattering way but it does seem that the poet was questioning Charlemagne's tastes and inclinations. Einhard famously reported that Charlemagne loved "very old barbarian songs" and assigned Germanic names to the months and winds.²⁸ Louis's biographer Thegan memorably remarks that Charlemagne's successor, on the other hand, "despised the pagan songs which he had learned as a youth, and wished neither to read, nor to hear, nor to learn them."²⁹ It is difficult to escape the conclusion that Walahfrid was discretely criticizing Charlemagne's sense of the past, his models, and perhaps his heroes.

However, the poem was not uniformly negative toward Charles. At the point where Walahfrid launched into his panegyrics of the members of Louis's imperial family and of some key courtiers, he did speak very warmly of Charlemagne:

Christ grant the he [Charles the Bald] follow in deeds, character, ability,
 life, virtue, triumphs
 Peace, faith, goodness, spirit, speech, daring,
 Right belief, counsel, success, and loyal children
 Him whom he follows in name.³⁰

A bit later, Walahfrid speaks of Einhard, insisting, "No less should be our reverence for this great father."³¹ Two points arise. First, just as visionaries could criticize Charlemagne's sexual misconduct, so too Walahfrid could chastise him for a flawed sense of the past. Second, between the composition of Walahfrid's *Visio Wettini*, which he sent to the court to draw attention to himself, and *De imagine Tetrici*, Einhard had written his mighty *Vita Karoli*. It may be unfair to characterize Walahfrid as a complete opportunist as Peter Godman does, but it is certainly likely that as a young man on the make, Walahfrid trimmed his sails to the prevailing breezes.³² What the poem tells us is that well into the late 820s, the elites of the new generation could and did remember Charlemagne differently—sometimes critically.

Had nothing more been written about Charlemagne, his legacy might have appeared very different to us. In the same late 820s that Walahfrid was writing, however, when criticism seemed to have a free hand, Einhard wrote his elegant *Vita Karoli*. In the years ahead, the interpretation of Charlemagne presented by his erstwhile courtier changed the polarity of

the discussion almost diametrically. Surviving in no fewer than 134 manuscripts, the work was hugely influential.³³

There has been considerable controversy over when Einhard wrote his *Vita* and why he wrote it. We need not rehearse the luxuriant details. Both internal and external hints point to a date of 828 or 829 for the composition of the *Vita* and for its presentation at the court of Louis the Pious.³⁴ Some of these hints are helpful for dating the text and understanding some of Einhard's reason for writing it, and they contribute to an understanding of the author's portrait of Charlemagne.

In his first extant letter, addressed to Einhard himself and dated to 829–30, Lupus of Ferrières makes explicit reference to the *Vita*, which he has read and admired.³⁵ Toward the end of Einhard's own preface, he says, "Thus I present this book to you,"³⁶ and a London manuscript of the *Vita* has "Einhard to his G., Greetings."³⁷ It is likely that "you" and "G" refer to Louis's palace librarian Gerward, who seems to have left the court around 829 or 830, not before composing a dedicatory poem for the *Vita* in six verses. The last of these texts critical of Charlemagne, Walahfrid's *De imagine Tetrici*, dates from 829. With good reason, scholars have suggested that Einhard wrote, at least in part, to answer these critics.³⁸ Moreover, the years 828 and 829 were extremely difficult ones for Louis the Pious with disastrous military campaigns, political unrest, and familial strife.³⁹ These years would have been a propitious time for an old hand such as Einhard to remind the new generation of what it had been like under Charles.

In his own *Preface*, Einhard gives three reasons why he wrote the *Vita*: He was an eyewitness and could report more fully and accurately than anyone else; he thought it desirable to record the now scarcely imitable deeds of Charlemagne, lest they be forgotten; and he was under personal obligation because of "constant friendship."⁴⁰ Of the three major classes of manuscripts, long labeled A, B, and C, two, A and C, always have Einhard's *Preface*. The B class lacks the *Preface* and opens with Gerward's dedicatory verses.⁴¹ It seems safest to conclude that the A and C classes represent Einhard's own conception of what his text was to look like, with the text running *Preface*, *Vita*, and *Testament*.⁴²

Einhard's debt to Suetonius's *Vitae XII Caesarum* has been known since Isaac Casaubon discovered it in 1595.⁴³ Einhard himself may have read Suetonius at Fulda, but the Roman historian was not widely known in the Carolingian period or for a long time thereafter, so Einhard could not have expected his contemporaries to spot his reliance on the text. Why did he use it, or what use did he make of it? For a long time, these questions were answered obliquely. Scholars contented themselves with

saying that Einhard was a skilled stylist who nevertheless lacked originality and who, accordingly, assembled direct and indirect borrowings from Suetonius into an essentially unreliable composite picture. Einhard produced the thirteenth Suetonian life.⁴⁴ But in 1932, Siegmund Hellmann published an article that changed everything.⁴⁵ Hellmann's argument is a fairly simple one: Einhard wanted to *characterize* Charlemagne and Suetonius provided him with a model for doing so. Einhard was no slavish imitator. He organized his material differently than Suetonius, omits—alas—Suetonius's delightful anecdotes, virtually never quotes Charlemagne's own words (only four times, I believe), and never explicitly or implicitly criticizes Charlemagne; whereas Suetonius ranged from principled criticism to utter ridicule. Moreover, while Einhard explicitly says he will treat the life, character, and deeds of Charlemagne, Suetonius's *Vitae* generally treated the statesman and human being but did not include "deeds" (*res gestae*) as such—something Einhard well knew. What is more, Einhard alters Suetonius's organizational scheme in another way. Einhard discusses deeds, namely war and diplomacy, then personal character, and finally government. Suetonius did not use such headings, preferring instead to sweep various details into thematic bins that suited his purposes at the moment. Therefore, Suetonius offered Einhard possibilities, inspiration, but not a blank template to be copied.⁴⁶

Hagiography also may have exercised some attraction for Einhard (himself a hagiographer) too.⁴⁷ In his *Dedication* and *Preface* to the *Vita Martini*, Sulpicius Severus says that he dare not let Martin's miracles be forgotten, that the life of the holy man should serve as an example, and that the aim of Martin's life and of his *Vita* is to lead men to salvation.⁴⁸ Einhard expresses a parallel concern that Charlemagne's deeds must be saved from oblivion, but he undoes the hagiographical convention of life as imitation in saying that those deeds are almost inimitable. Most important of all, Einhard's portrait of Charlemagne is rigorously secular. In other words, Einhard might have taken *vita et conversatio* from hagiography; if so, he transposed them into a different key. *Nutritor* is a word common in hagiography. For Einhard, it means patron, benefactor, and supporter in worldly terms. Charlemagne was not a humble wonder-worker. He was *excellentissimus* and *famosissimus*, words that, to that point, could only apply to secular greatness.⁴⁹

Einhard built up his secular portrait of Charlemagne in three layers.⁵⁰ First, Einhard acknowledged that Charlemagne was a man of piety but denied that he was a man of the church, an ecclesiastical reformer, a divinely appointed king, or an Old Testament king. In chapters twenty-six and twenty-seven of the *Vita*, Einhard says that Charlemagne followed the Christian religion all his life, helped the poor, in his own lands and

abroad, and made generous donations to the church of St. Peter. We find no references to David and Josiah, no mention of the ecclesiastical legislation that fills pages in the capitularies and canons, and no hint that Christ aided Charlemagne's armies. Second, Einhard writes from a decidedly Frankish point of view, fusing the identities of Charlemagne and the Franks. Charlemagne's victories enhanced the reputation of the Franks. He preferred Frankish food and clothing. He was a good family man in a Frankish sort of way. Einhard's account of Charlemagne's life after his imperial coronation tell us almost nothing about day-to-day administration but instead focuses on additions to the Germanic law codes, the preservation of the "very old barbarian songs," and the naming of the months and winds in Frankish. Third, Einhard figures Charlemagne in terms of moral qualities. He may have derived some inspiration for doing so from Suetonius, but Cicero is a more likely source. Einhard stresses *pietas*, *reverentia*, *patientia*, *constantia*, *magnanimitas*, *magnitudo animi*, and *animositas* by never letting Charlemagne become an abstraction; he is always a flesh and blood human being. He was the greatest man of his time but always only a man. Charlemagne's many fine qualities inhered in him personally, not in his office.

Einhard's impact may be gauged in various ways. For one, the critical voices went silent. In 839, Wandalbert of Prüm wrote about the miracles of St. Goar.⁵¹ Early in the text, he speaks of the "most excellent prince Charles," but a bit later on, he mildly rebukes Charlemagne for failing to keep a promise to visit Goar's monastery. Charlemagne and his sons Charles and Pippin approached the monastery by boat. The sons accepted Abbot Asuerius's invitation to visit but Charlemagne remained in his boat. That night, in darkness and strong currents, he was driven about wildly until he prayed to Goar. The saint released him from this dire predicament and Charlemagne immediately visited the monastery and gave it a handsome donation. For good measure, Goar cured Charlemagne's wife Fastrada of a toothache.⁵² Clearly, this story is more about the cult of St. Goar than about Charlemagne, and the tone of moral indignation so evident in the 820s has vanished.

In contrast to Wandalbert, all the other evidence points in a more positive direction. Gerward, as noted, prepared some dedicatory verses for Einhard's *Life*, in which Gerward spoke of "Charles the Great."⁵³ This may not seem particularly striking. We are accustomed to speaking of Charles the Great, Charlemagne, and Karl der Grosse. Indeed, *we* are, but *they* were not. Gerward went a bit further than Einhard who says simply that Charles was "the greatest of the men of his time," not that he was "Great" *tout court*. Thegan, writing about Louis, called Charles "the great emperor,"⁵⁴ whereas the Astronomer, like Einhard, speaks of

Charles as second to none.⁵⁵ When Walahfrid prepared his *Preface* to Einhard's *Vita*, Walahfrid went beyond his predecessors in writing about "the most glorious emperor Charles."⁵⁶ In the mid-840s Nithard, the historian of the civil wars among Charlemagne's grandsons, wrote about "emperor Charles, rightly called great by all nations."⁵⁷ Slowly but surely, Charles was becoming "Great."

This process is evident in the manuscripts of Einhard's *Vita* as well. The earliest ones do not have *Vita Karoli Magni*, while the later ones all do.⁵⁸ One can see earlier criticisms being laid aside. Still, another factor that should not be overlooked is that "Great" (*Magnus*) was as much an epithet as a characterization. That is, Charles may eventually have acquired his own nickname as a way to differentiate him from other Carolingians named Charles.⁵⁹

The reigns of Charlemagne's grandsons Charles the Bald (840–77) in the West-Frankish Kingdom and Louis the German (840–76) in the east-Frankish Kingdom were rich in evocations and emulations of the reign and legacy of Charlemagne.⁶⁰ Both kings patronized scholars as their grandfather had and received or commissioned historical works, including copies of Einhard's *Vita Karoli*. Charles modeled his Marian chapel at Compiègne on the palatine chapel at Aachen. In monograms, seals, bulls, and documentary forms, both kings imitated Charlemagne. Both kings commemorated Charlemagne. Both hewed to his legacy as a church and liturgical reformer. Louis the German used Roman, or Italian, artifacts in his program of construction. Louis also treated his hegemony over the neighboring Slavic peoples as a direct inheritance from his grandfather. Louis's promotion of Germanic vernacular literature was featured as a direct imitation of Charlemagne's work, although the reality is that Louis went much further than his grandfather had ever gone.⁶¹

Egon Boshof has prudently observed that one ought to be careful about attributing to Charles the Bald (his focus) or to Louis the German (by implication) a conscious, lifelong desire to represent themselves as "New Charlemagnes." Much of the evidence cited in this connection directly reveals only the thinking of court elites and not necessarily the self-understanding of the kings themselves. What is more, a great deal of the evidence can be understood in dynastic terms generally. Finally, both kings had to respond to a constantly changing political environment that made long-term planning well-nigh impossible.⁶² Still, it is hard to deny Eric Goldberg's insistence that "the struggle for the Carolingian empire between Louis the German and Charles the Bald was becoming a contest for Charlemagne's legacy."⁶³

Both mythmaking and Einhard's influence appear in an amusing anecdote told no fewer than four times. Einhard famously says that Charlemagne tried in vain to learn to write, keeping wax tablets and notebooks under his pillows so that he could practice.⁶⁴ In a remarkable text, the *Visio Karoli Magni*, composed around 860 in circles around Louis the German "to glorify Louis himself as the defender of the church and the only worthy heir among Charlemagne's grandsons,"⁶⁵ we read that an unnamed person appeared before Charlemagne as he was falling asleep. The apparition presented Charlemagne with a sword "sent by God" and inscribed with some Germanic words. Charlemagne was accustomed to keep tablets with himself so that he could write down whatever he saw in his dreams. Accordingly, he copied the four Germanic words written on the heavenly sword's blade so that he could ask his advisers about them. The *visio*, masterfully interpreted by Patrick Geary, need not capture our attention because, as Goldberg says, it says a lot more about Louis the German than about Charlemagne.⁶⁶ But the tablets are intriguing. They appear again in the records of the Synod of Fismes in 881, which say of Charlemagne that "at the head of his bed he kept tablets and a stylus so that day or night he could jot down on those tablets whatever occurred to him pertaining to the advantage of the holy church or to the benefit and security of the kingdom."⁶⁷ The Saxon Poet says that Charlemagne was never without his tablets.⁶⁸ Somewhat later, we learn that Bishop Salomon I of Constance presented those very tablets to the monastery of St.-Gall.⁶⁹ Although the story is especially about Charlemagne's wakeful vigilance, it is also about the undesirability of remembering him as unable to write.⁷⁰ Memory was adjusting history.

The late ninth century produced two more commemorations of Charlemagne, the *Gesta Karoli Magni* by Notker the Stammerer of St. Gall and the verse history by the anonymous Saxon Poet. Each work provides precious insights into how Charlemagne was remembered as the century ended and each enters into dialogue with Einhard's account. Although both adjust Einhard's portrait, the very fact that they did so indicates the continuing attraction of his *Vita*.

Notker (ca. 840–912) wrote his *Gesta* between late 885 and May of 887.⁷¹ Louis Halphen quipped that the *Gesta* tell us as much about Charlemagne as *The Three Musketeers* does about Louis XIII. Scholars now esteem Notker more highly than Halphen did, but they have also found new reasons to validate the quip, since research now suggests that Notker wrote a "mirror for princes" for his patron Charles III ("the Fat"), commented trenchantly and wittily on his own times, and

defended the legitimacy of the East Frankish kings as true successors to Charlemagne. What, then, does Notker actually say about Charlemagne? The answer depends on how one views Notker's working habits and intentions. He mentions oral informants, and many of his anecdotes have the feel of stories that grew with each telling. Yet, he also used written sources, especially Einhard, belying a wholly oral, popular background. If Notker intended mainly to teach and admonish his contemporaries, regardless of how he got his information, then his portrait of Charlemagne may lack historical depth and accuracy. However, it may also tell us something about Charlemagne himself. These differing opinions are actually compatible with each other. Notker does convey useful information, does tell us about his own world, and does provide us with important insights into how Charlemagne was remembered; and a lot of what he says could have been accurate to a late ninth-century audience.

Notker does not narrate, but rather spins anecdotes, originally intended to stretch through three books, one each on Charlemagne's piety, wars, and character (yet he failed to finish the second book and never wrote the third). The *Gestae* begin with a reference to God as the creator and ordainer of all and then proceed to thirty-four tales about Charlemagne's piety. Book Two contains twenty-one tales about war and diplomacy. Right away, it is obvious that Notker has reversed Einhard's portrayal. Notker's Charlemagne is not merely personally pious; he is also a man of the church. Charlemagne acts on God's prompting, does his will, and works as his agent. He is wise, just, and brave but he is a fundamentally Christian ruler, a "priest-king" who keeps company with bishops and monks.

Between 888 and 891, the Saxon Poet composed 2,693 lines of versified history arrayed in 5 books.⁷² Books One to Four, in hexameters, basically set the "Revised" *Annales regni Francorum* to verse from 771 to 813. Book Five, in distiches, recapitulates Einhard's *Vita* in its central section but opens and closes with original material representing the Poet's own interpretation of Charlemagne. Where the Poet does reprise Einhard, he does so with comprehension, reproducing Einhard's stress on *constantia*, *patientia*, *prudentia*, and *magnanimitas*. Nevertheless, the Poet writes as a proud Saxon who especially remembers Charlemagne as the person who, following God's will, brought Christianity to Saxony. The Poet acknowledges that Charlemagne vastly expanded the Frankish realm but this is not his focus. Instead, he places Charlemagne, indeed the Carolingians, into salvation history as heirs of the patriarchs, apostles, martyrs, and fathers. The end of the poem features a series of great

teachers leading their people into heaven, and Charlemagne leads the Saxons—not the Franks!

Charlemagne was remembered in very different ways across the ninth century. First, he was loudly lamented. Then he was criticized, first for political failings, then for moral lapses, and finally for his fondness for Germanic culture. As criticism reached its highpoint, Einhard, Charlemagne's former courtier and friend, wrote one of the most remarkable, successful, and influential biographies of the whole Middle Ages. Einhard created a fundamentally secular Frankish warrior and ruler, and his positive evaluation carried the day, even if it was itself subject to various revisions when East- and West-Frankish kings sought to make Charlemagne their own. This series of revisions handed the future a rich set of possibilities for reflecting on, adopting, and adapting Charlemagne.

Notes

1. Ed. Ernst Dümmler, MGH PLAC 1 (Berlin, 1881), pp. 435–6. English trans. in *Carolingian Civilization: A Reader*, ed. Paul Edward Dutton, 2nd ed. (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 2004), pp. 157–9.
2. Max Kerner, *Karl der Grosse: Entschleierung eines Mythos* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2000); Robert Morrissey, *Charlemagne and France: A Thousand Years of Mythology*, trans. Catherine Tihanyi (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2003).
3. Astronomer, *Vita Hludowici*, ed. Ernst Tremp, MGH SRG (Hannover, 1995), p. 348. On this criticism generally, see Paul Edward Dutton, *The Politics of Dreaming in the Carolingian Empire* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), esp. pp. 50–80.
4. *Annales regni Francorum*, ed. Friedrich Kurze, MGH SRG (Hannover, 1895), pp. 140–1; Thegan, *Gesta Hludowici Imperatoris*, ed. Ernst Tremp, MGH SRG (Hannover, 1995), pp. 192–4.
5. *In Honorem Hludowici Christianissimi Caesaris Augusti*, ed. Edmond Faral (Paris: Champion, 1932), ll. 824–47.
6. *Annales regni Francorum*, anno 822, 158; Astronomer, *Vita Hludowici*, 406. Thegan does not report the event.
7. Heito, *Visio Wettini*, ed. Ernst Dümmler, MGH PLAC 2 (Berlin, 1884), pp. 267–75.
8. Heito, *Visio Wettini*, 271.
9. David A. Traill, *Walahfrid Strabo's Visio Wettini: Text, Translation, and Commentary* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1974). Hermann Knittel essentially reproduces Dümmler's MGH edition, takes into account some of Traill's emendations, and provides a German translation with a useful introduction and notes: *Walahfrid Strabo Visio Wettini: Die Vision Wetti's* (Sigmaringen: J. Thorbecke, 1986). Walahfrid lacks a modern

- monograph. For a selection of excellent aperçus ranging across philological and historical issues see: Max Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, vol. 1 (Münich: Beck, 1911), pp. 302–24; Heinrich Hoffmann, *Karl der Grosse im Bilde der Geschichtschreibung des frühen Mittelalters (800–1250)* (Berlin: E. Ebering, 1919), pp. 15–17; Friedrich von Bezold, “Kaiserin Judith und ihre Dichter Walahfrid Strabo,” *Historische Zeitschrift* 130 (1925): 377–439; Folz, *Souvenir*, 11–12; Baudoin de Gaiffier, “La légende de Charlemagne: Le péché de l’empereur et son pardon,” in *Études critiques d’hagiographie et d’iconologie* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1967), pp. 262–5; Hans Joachim Kamphausen, *Traum und Vision in der lateinischen Poesie der Karolingerzeit* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1975), pp. 132–46; Alf Önnersfors, “Walahfrid Strabo als Dichter,” in *Mediaevalia: Abhandlungen und Aufsätze* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1977), pp. 169–201; Peter Godman, *Poets and Emperors: Frankish Politics and Carolingian Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), pp. 130–40; Franz Brunhölzl, *Histoire de la littérature latine du Moyen Âge*, vol. 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1991), pp. 102–15; Dutton, *Politics of*, 63–7; and Roger Collins, “Charlemagne and His Critics (814–29),” in *La royauté et les élites dans l’Europe carolingienne*, ed. Régine LeJan (Lille: Centre d’Histoire de l’Europe du Nord-Ouest, 1998), pp. 194–6.
10. *Visio Wettini*, ed. Traill, 197; ed. Knittel, 66.
 11. The story is told twice in texts relating to Amalberga: In a sermon of Bishop Radbod of Utrecht (901–18), in AASS, 3 July, pp. 85–7 and in Amalberga’s *Vita*, possibly written around 900 by Abbot Theodoric of St. Trond. Amalberga’s *Vita*, 96. See also de Gaiffier, “Le Péché,” 275 n. 2.
 12. De Gaiffier, “Le péché,” 274; Gaston Paris, *Histoire poétique de Charlemagne* (Paris: Champion, 1905), p. 378 (citing *Karlamagnus Saga*).
 13. The key study, with a new edition, is Hubert Houben, “Visio cuiusdam pauperculæ mulieris: Überlieferung und Herkunft eines frühmittelalterlichen Visionstextes,” *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 124 (1976): 31–42 (edition, 41–2). English translation in Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization*, 203–4. The text has occasioned rather limited discussion: Wilhelm Levison, “Die Politik in den Jenseitsvisionen des frühern Mittelalters,” in *Aus Rheinischer und fränkischer Frühzeit* (Düsseldorf: L. Schwann, 1948), pp. 237–9; De Gaiffier, “La péché,” 262; Kamphausen, *Traum und Vision*, 141–2; Dutton, *Politics of Dreaming*, 67–75; Collins, “Charlemagne and His Critics,” 196–202.
 14. De Gaiffier, “La péché,” 262 n. 4.
 15. On the dream visions and politics generally, see Dutton, *Politics of Dreaming*. On the historical context of this vision see Jörg Jarnut, “Kaiser Ludwig der Fromme und König Bernhard von Italien,” *Studi Medievali*, 3rd ser., 30 (1989): 637–48. Matthias Tischler, *Einhalts Vita Karoli: Studien zur Entstehung, Überlieferung und Rezeption*, vol. 1

- (Hannover: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 2001), p. 202 argues that the text's emphasis on the unfortunate aftermath of Bernard's revolt may well date the text close in time to 818 that would not preclude a role for Heito in shaping the text as we have it.
16. Wilhelm Wattenbach, "Aus Petersburger Handschriften," *Anzeiger für Kunde der deutschen Vorzeit* 22 (1875): 72–4 (edition, 73–4). In addition to the St. Petersburg MS edited here (which also contains the better known *Visio Baronti*), the text also appears in CLM 14,364 and in St. Gall 573, after the *Visio Pauperculae*. On the text see: Levison, "Jenseits Visionen," 235; de Gaiffier, "La péché," 260–2; Dutton, *Politics of Dreaming*, 61–3.
 17. *Vita Adalhardi*, PL 120:1507–56. English translation by Allen Cabaniss, *The Life of Saint Adalhard*, in *Charlemagne's Cousins: Contemporary Lives of Adalhard and Wala* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1967), pp. 25–82.
 18. *Vita Adalhardi*, 1511B–1512A (trans. Cabaniss, *Life of Saint Adalhard*, 29–30).
 19. Dutton, *Politics of Dreaming*, 57 and Tischler, *Einharts Vita Karoli*, 202–3 point to the connection between Paschasius' criticism of Charlemagne and the oneirocriticism of the 820s. Janet L. Nelson, "Making a Difference in Eighth-Century Politics: The Daughters of Desiderius," in *After Rome's Fall: Narrators and Sources of Medieval History. Essays Presented to Walter Goffart*, ed. Alexander Murray (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), pp. 171–90.
 20. Newly edited with an English translation by Michael Herren, "The 'De Imagine Tetrici' of Walahfrid Strabo: Edition and Translation," *Journal of Medieval Latin* 1 (1991): 118–39 (ed. 122–31, trans. 131–9).
 21. Michael Herren, "Walahfrid Strabo's *De Imagine Tetrici*: An Interpretation," in *Latin Culture and Medieval Germanic Europe*, ed. Richard North and Tette Hofstra (Groningen: E. Forsten, 1992), pp. 25–41.
 22. *De imagine Tetricis*, ed. Herren, ll. 94–8 (trans. 134).
 23. *De imagine Tetricis*, ed. Herren, ll. 107–111 (trans. 134–5).
 24. *De imagine Tetricis*, ed. Herren, ll. 256–7 (trans. 139).
 25. We know because Agnellus of Ravenna tells us: *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis*, ed. Deborah Deliyannis, CCCM 199 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), pp. 259–60.
 26. *De imagine Tetrici*, ed. Herren, ll. 28–88 (trans. 132–4).
 27. Herren, "The 'De Imagine Tetrici,'" 120.
 28. *Vita Karoli Magni*, in *Vie de Charlemagne*, ed. Louis Halphen (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1938), pp. 82–4.
 29. Thegan, *Gesta Hludowici*, 200.
 30. *De imagine Tetrici*, ed. Herren, ll. 158–61 (trans. 136).
 31. *De imagine Tetrici*, ed. Herren, ll. 191–6 (trans. 137), at l. 191.
 32. *Poets and Emperors*, 145–7. Philippe Depreux, "Poètes et historiens au temps de l'empereur Louis le Pieux," *Le Moyen Âge* 94 (1993): 313–14 offers a cogent critique of Godman.

33. Tischler, *Einharts Vita Karoli* is now definitive on the manuscripts. Although the best textual witnesses argue for Einhard as the proper form of his name, I retain the traditional Einhard. On Einhard himself see Paul Edward Dutton, *Charlemagne's Courtier: The Complete Einhard* (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 1998), pp. xi–li; David Ganz, "Einhard's Charlemagne: The Characterisation of Greatness," in *Charlemagne: Empire and Society*, ed. Joanna Story (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2005), pp. 38–51; Julia M. H. Smith, "Einhard: The Sinner and the Saints," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 13 (2003): 55–77; Wilhelm Störmer, "Einhard's Herkunft—Überlegungen und Beobachtungen zu Einhard's Erbesitz und familiärem Umfeld," in *Einhard: Studien zu Leben und Werk. Dem gedenken an Helmut Beumann gewidmet*, ed. Hermann Schefers (Darmstadt: Hessische Historische Kommission, 1997), pp. 15–39; François-Louis Ganshof, "Einhard: Biographer of Charlemagne," in *The Carolingians and the Frankish Monarchy*, trans. Janet Sondheimer (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1967), pp. 1–16.
34. Heinz Löwe, "Die Entstehungszeit der Vita Karoli Einhards," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 39 (1983): 85–101, argues for a date of 825/826 and masterfully reviews the earlier literature. Tischler, *Einharts Vita Karoli*, 78–239 provides a massive review of the evidence and arguments.
35. Lupus, eno. 1, in *Correspondance*, ed. Léon Levillain (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1927), p. 6. See Tischler, *Einharts Vita Karoli*, 121–2 with the older literature. Dutton, *Charlemagne's Courtier*, xviii thinks the letter cannot date before 830, although 829 seems possible.
36. Preface to *Vita Karoli*, ed. Halphen, 4–6.
37. David Ganz, "The Preface to Einhard's 'Vita Karoli,'" in *Einhard: Studien zu Leben und Werk. Dem gedenken an Helmut Beumann gewidmet*, ed. Hermann Schefers (Darmstadt: Hessische Historische Kommission, 1997), p. 309; Tischler, *Einharts Vita Karoli*, 157–68.
38. Tischler, *Einharts Vita Karoli*, 205–7; Dutton, *Politics of Dreaming*, 55–60.
39. See also the brief, bullet-pointed summary in Paul Edward Dutton's chapter in this volume.
40. Preface to *Vita Karoli*, ed. Halphen, 2–4.
41. Tischler, *Einharts Vita Karoli*, 78–96; Ganz, "Preface," 299–300.
42. Walafrid, *Prologus*, ed. Halphen, 108: "Huic opusculo ego Strabo titulos et incisiones prout visum est congruum, inserui, ut ad singula facilius quaerenti quod placuerit elucescat accessus." One does wonder why, however, if Einhard actually sent the *Life* to Gerward at the palace, the latter would have omitted the *Preface* and appended his own verses. It is also important to note that the familiar division of the text into chapters was done by Walafrid Strabo when he edited the text sometime between Einhard's death in 840 and his own in 849.
43. *C. Suetoni Tranquilli de XII Caesarum libros VIII* (Geneva: Apud Iacobum Chouët, 1595).

44. Such was the judgment of Halphen in his "Einhard, historien de Charlemagne," in *Études critiques sur l'histoire de Charlemagne* (Paris: F. Alcan, 1921), pp. 60–103.
45. Siegmund Hellmann, "Einhard's literarische Stellung," in *Ausgewählte Abhandlungen zur Historiographie und Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters*, ed. Helmut Beumann (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1961), pp. 159–229.
46. Ganshof, "Einhard," 7 spoke of "formal dependence but independence as to content."
47. Walter Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil im lateinischen Mittelalter, Vol. III: Karolingische Biographie, 750–920 c. Chr.* (Stuttgart: A. Hiersemann, 1991), pp. 208–9; Ganz, "Preface," 301–3.
48. Suplicius Severus, *Vita Martini*, ed. Jacques Fontaine (Paris: Cerf, 1967), pp. 248–52.
49. Ganz, "Preface," 302.
50. What follows constitutes a synthesis of: Hoffmann, *Karl der Grosse*, 5–6; Paul Lehmann, *Das literarische Bild Karls des Grossen vornehmlich im lateinischen Schrifttum des Mittelalters* (Münich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1934), pp. 163–6; Hellmann, "Einhard's literarische Stellung," 186–8, 210–14; Folz, *Souvenir*, 5–8; Ganshof, "Einhard," 8; Heinz Wolter, "Intention und Herrscherbild in Einhard's Vita Karoli Magni," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 68 (1986): 295–317; Rosamond McKitterick and Matthew Innes, "The Writing of History," in *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 207; Matthew S. Kempshall, "Some Ciceronian Models for Einhard's Life of Charlemagne," *Viator* 26 (1995): 11–37; Morrissey, *Charlemagne and France*, 21–7; Tischler, *Einhard's Vita Karoli*, 122–3, 192–6; Ganz, "Einhard's Charlemagne," 43–4, 48–9.
51. *Vita et miracula sancti Goaris*, ed. Heinz Erich Stiene (Frankfurt: P.D. Lang, 1981), pp. ix–xxix on Wandalbert and the text. See also Folz, *Souvenir*, 10–11.
52. *Vita et miracula sancti Goaris*, ed. Stiene, 43, 55–9.
53. Ed. Dümmler, MGH PLAC, vol. 2, 126 (also in *Vie de Charlemagne*, ed. Halphen, xvi; trans. Dutton in *Charlemagne's Courtier*, 4).
54. Thegan, *Gesta Hludowici*, 180.
55. Astronomer, *Vita Hludowici*, 284.
56. Einhard, *Vita Karoli*, ed. Halphen, 104.
57. Nithard, *Historiae*, in *Histoire des fils de Louis le Pieux* 1.1, ed. Philippe Lauer (Paris: Champion, 1926), p. 4.
58. Tischler, *Einhard's Vita Karoli*, 113–21.
59. Paul Lehmann, "Mittelalterliche Beinamen und Ehrestitel," *Historisches Jahrbuch* 49 (1929): 215–39. For more on this transition, see also Paul Edward Dutton's chapter in this volume.
60. William Diebold, "Nos quoque morem illius imitari cupientes: Charles the Bald's Evocation and Imitation of Charlemagne," *Archiv für*

- Kulturgeschichte* 75 (1993): 271–300; Nikolaus Staubach, *Rex Christianus: Hofkultur und Herrschaftspropaganda im Reich Karls des Kahlen*, vol. 2 (Cologne: Böhlau, 1993); Wilfried Hartmann, *Ludwig der Deutsche* (Darmstadt: Primus, 2002), esp. pp. 123–241; and Eric Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire: Kingship and Conflict under Louis the German, 817–876* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006).
61. Dieter Geuenich, “Die volkssprachige Überlieferung der Karolingerzeit aus der Sicht des Historikers,” *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 39 (1983): 104–30.
 62. Egon Boshof, “Karl der Kahle–Novus Karolus Magnus?” in *Karl der Große und das Erbe der Kulturen*, ed. Franz-Reiner Erkens (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2001), pp. 135–52.
 63. Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, 291.
 64. *Vita Karoli*, ed. Halphen, 76.
 65. Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, 291.
 66. Patrick Geary, *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press 1994), pp. 50–76, with an edition, pp. 74–6.
 67. *In synodo apud S. Macram*, PL 125:1085.
 68. *Gesta Karoli Magni*, ed. Paul Winterfield, MGH PLAC 4 (Berlin, 1899), lines 253–6, 61.
 69. Ekkehard IV, *Casus Sancti Galli*, in ed. Hans F. Haefele (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1980), p. 58.
 70. See also the thoughtful comments of Paul Edward Dutton in his *Charlemagne’s Mustache and Other Cultural Clusters of a Dark Age* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp. 69–92.
 71. *Gesta Karoli Magni Imperatoris*, ed. Hans F. Haefele, MGH SRG n.s. 12 (Berlin, 1962). See: Lehmann, *Das literarische Bild*, 169–72; Folz, *Souvenir*, 13–15; Theodor Siegrist, *Herrscherbild und Weltsicht bei Notker Balbulus: Untersuchungen zu den Gesta Karoli* (Zürich: Fretz und Wasmuth, 1963); Heinrich Löwe, “Das Karlsbuch Notkers von St. Gallen und sein Zeitgeschichtlicher Hintergrund,” *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte* 20 (1970): 269–302; Wolfgang Eggert, “Zu Kaiser- und Reichsgedanken des Notker Balbulus,” *Philologus* 115 (1971): 71–80; Hans-Werner Goetz, *Strukturen der spätkarolingischen Epoche im Spiegel der Vorstellungen eines Zeitgenössischen Mönchs* (Bonn: Habelt, 1981); David Ganz, “Humour as History in Notker’s *Gesta Karoli Magni*,” in *Monks, Nuns, and Friars in Medieval Society*, ed. Edward B. King, Jacqueline T. Schaefer, and William B. Wadley (Sewanee, TN: University of the South Press, 1989), pp. 171–83; Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil*, 388–415; Matthew Innes, “Memory, Orality and Literacy in an Early Medieval Society,” *Past and Present* 158 (1998): 3–36; Morrissey, *Charlemagne and France*, 27–38; Simon MacLean, *Kingship and Politics in the Late Ninth Century: Charles the Fat and the End of the Carolingian Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 199–229.

72. *Gesta Karoli Magni*, ed. Winterfield, 7–71. Trans. by Mary E. McKinney, *The Saxon Poet's Life of Charles the Great* (New York: Pageant Press, 1956). See: Manitius, *Geschichte*, vol. 1, 583–4; Folz, *Souvenir*, 28–37; Alfred Ebenbauer, *Carmen Historicum: Untersuchungen zur historischen Dichtung im karolingischen Europa* (Vienna: W. Braumüller, 1978), pp. 199–211; Peter Godman, *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), pp. 78–9; Brunhölzl, *Histoire*, vol. 2, 143–4.

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CHAPTER 2

KAROLVS MAGNVS OR KAROLVS FELIX: THE MAKING OF CHARLEMAGNE'S REPUTATION AND LEGEND

Paul Edward Dutton

Charles may or may not have been Great but he has long had a great reputation, and we should try not to let this confuse us. The question asked here is simply why this king's legend began so early and flourished with so few impediments. The conditions at the birth of Charles's legend were more than just right, they were perfect: a satisfying number of surviving sources that treat him with admiration and awe, few dissenting written records, and a turn of history that typed him against the beleaguered kings and troubled times that followed. My intention here is to briefly reconsider the formation of the Charlemagne legend and suggest another perspective on how it manifested itself.

Few historical reputations have been as fortunate as Charlemagne's. Some figures such as Philip of Macedonia lacked a historical herald to proclaim their achievements. Some like Hannibal fell on the wrong side of history and so left only their wounded enemies to write their stories. Justinian laid down a magnificent record of accomplishment in deeds, monuments, and laws, but his reputation suffered the unpleasantness of a secret character assassination and the ultimate collapse of his scheme to restore the Roman Empire. Some like Julius Caesar and, indeed, all the Julio-Claudians not only lived with dissenting and exquisitely literate critics who doubted their greatness, but they also came to have their reputations sullied by a later self-promoting century that reviled them.

Why one historical reputation for greatness flourishes and another fails is a matter for reflection, but neither is the product of mere chance. Complex historical and social circumstances have always worked to shape and fix reputations (each with its own set of determining factors) that we would do well to weigh before we begin to think too deeply about what a reputation has become by the time we receive it.¹

Reputations are shaped, sponsored, disseminated, and received by specific groups of people at specific times. They do not just happen; nor are they objective determinations of merit or achievement. They are, instead, created, transformed, and perpetuated by interested parties. In the case of Charlemagne, let us not forget that he was one of the architects of his own legend, not just because of what he did, but even more because of when and how he and his deeds were extolled. Before the formation of a court with literary pretensions and his collection of foreign poets and courtiers in the 780s and 790s, Charlemagne was an historical actor of some importance but probably of little lasting or extensive reputation. Our continuing uncertainty about the exact date of his birth is a product of the scant attention paid to the child and youth. This king, unlike Roman emperors and many saints, would have no contemporary stories told about an auspicious birth, no brilliant stars in the sky to announce a cosmic event, no dream visitations to his mother Bertrada, and no deeds as a youngster to suggest he was destined for great things. His was to be an adult greatness, not a preordained one.

But with the arrival of poets and teachers in Francia, the legend laid down roots. Not a single contemporary poem survives to sing the praises of his father Pepin, but more than fifty poems, some of substantial length, ring with those of Charles. The Italians Paul the Deacon, Paulinus of Aquileia, and Peter of Pisa, the Anglo-Saxon Alcuin, Hibernicus Exul, the Spaniard Theodulf of Orléans, and the homegrown Angilbert heaped lasting and unrestrained praise on their patron. It is not necessary to suppose that Charlemagne sought out the poets to begin fashioning a legend, but that was the effect of feeding and housing them at court. They were his creatures and their poems his first purchase on immortality.

Like all good panegyrics, their *carmina* are exercises in exaggeration with none of the ups and downs of Suetonian portraiture to mar a finely polished surface. Their songs are ones of unqualified love. The extent to which they shaped his image as King David, divinely inspired, all-conquering, all-knowing, beneficent, kindly, and kingly, was irrevocable. The poet of *Karolus et Leo Papa* collected the signifiers into a rolling thunder of epithetical majesty:

Charles is vigorous of mind, intelligent and unassuming,
Distinguished in study, radiant with his shrewd mind; [and so]

Fittingly the name "CAROLVS" was allotted to him here on earth,
 That is, a "beloved light" (*cara lux*) to everyone and wisdom for the land.
 The glorious height of his reputation represents
 All glory and excellence to his servants, an honor to his nobles,
 And hope to the masses. His start promised this at once to the land,
 As apparent by his intelligence as by his surpassing worth,
 Which shines over the earth, for he is powerful, wise, knowing, prudent,
 Brilliant, approachable, learned, good, mighty, virtuous,
 Gentle, distinguished, just, pious, a famous warrior,
 King, ruler, venerable summit, august, bountiful,
 Distinguished arbiter, judge, sympathetic to the needy,
 Peacemaking, generous, clever, cheerful, and handsome.²

No room is left for qualification or doubt. Even the loss of most of this poem, the one great epic dedicated to him during his lifetime, could not impair the construction of his singular grandeur.

Poets may not all be liars, as Plato once warned, but Charles's songmen invented an image of him that has always wanted testing. They fashioned a Charlemagne who overshadowed everyone and everything, a brilliant lighthouse to bathe the world in comforting rays and guide his people home to righteousness. He was a great scholar, singularly kind and generous, and the fount of all virtue. Even the great one himself must have known that this was a product of panegyric, a genre that never sang of kings' character flaws, state failures, and human foibles. The image they constructed of Charles the Great was, in many ways, the finest collective achievement of his court.

What has been too little considered, in accepting his legend as sure and preponderant, is the parchment advantage that Charlemagne and his poets possessed. The output of Carolingian writers, especially in those early years, was relatively meager when compared to the ancients, but the Carolingians had the advantage of employing a tougher writing surface. While the papyri of Sophocles and Cicero crumbled in the dry south or rotted in the damp north, the parchment used by Charlemagne's poets tended to endure. So that even if relatively few poems and historical records of Charlemagne were written, a great number of them survived and were passed down in their own or later manuscripts. Also, the gap between the scriptoria of the ninth century and the blossoming scribal cultures of the eleventh and twelfth centuries was relatively short, certainly brief enough for some parchment manuscripts to bridge. Once again, particular circumstances favored the permanence of one reputation over another.

Also working in favor of a positive reputation for the Frankish king was that almost nothing he said in direct speech was reported, and he himself was not a writer.³ Had subsequent generations possessed the

king's direct deliberations, his religious and philosophical thought, his little jokes and outbursts of anger, these might have made him seem smaller and more knowable. Cicero's reputation as both a thinker and a statesman foundered when his letters to Atticus surfaced in the Italian Renaissance. Even Petrarch bolted camp when he came to know Cicero better.⁴ The lack of contemporary pictures and images of Charlemagne is also striking, though Einhard did supply a description of his physical form. From the standpoint of the formation of a legend, too much information may threaten uncomfortable satiety in its consumers, criticism of its many details, and radical revision of an all too full and familiar image. Legends are general impressions and rest on a central conclusion. Charlemagne, cloaked in distance, seems an historical figure almost, despite the many biographies, unknowable. For successful historical legends of greatness not only invite the imagination of their receivers to shape and expand them, they may require it. They depend upon a certain plasticity in the form and possibilities of the received story.

To read the *Annales regni Francorum* for the period of the great one's life is to encounter a distinct fluctuation of voice. Charles was not always Charlemagne. The authors of the unrevised portion of these annals before the early 790s generally invoke him with a formula: *domnus Carolus rex*.⁵ To this base were added adjectives such as *gloriosus* (769, 779, 781, and three times in 787), *magnus* (781), *praecelsus* (773), *piissimus* (788), *clementissimus* (788), and *gloriosissimus* (794). In contrast, the early ninth-century reviser of the annals hardly names the king at all.⁶ In the revised entries before 801, he is simply *rex*. After that, Charles is *imperator*. The starkness of references to the king, whose name is assumed in the running entries, comes as something of a surprise after the formula and superlatives of the so-called primitive version.

Only after Charlemagne's death would the search for the one and true epithet settle on *MAGNVS*. This epithet was no longer just another adjective; its effect was nominative. It separated this Charles from his grandfather Charles Martel and the other Charleses of his line; and, at the same time, it joined him to other bearers of the same designation. But the roll of the historical Greats—Alexander, Pompey, Herod, Constantine, Theoderic, and Alfred—is inscribed on mottled marble, some veins running richer and wider than others. What these figures share is singularity; each people or distinct period labelling one individual as preeminent, at least for a time. But even when the label stuck, it did not always attach for a lifetime. Pompey achieved great things early in his career, but ended badly and without his head. As the Roman Republic failed, his epithet was one full of sarcastic spit for his many mockers.⁷ Still, each of the Greats represents a point of high achievement for a people and a time;

they embody and individualize their ages as both symbols and repositories of credit. To designate someone as Great and worthy of such praise is to assign responsibility. It is as if to say that the Great One caused or created his age. So manifest is their singularity that the Greats do not crowd in upon each other, but clear a space around their names that others could not occupy.

Yet, among the Greats, only Charlemagne would have *magnus* fused in his legendary name. “*Carlemagne*” appears in the romance tongue of the Oxford *Chanson de Roland*, but that stabilization of epithet and its effective fusion with his name occurred not long after his death, and its basis lay in written culture, not oral. “*Magnes*” is a relatively rare epithet in French, “*grand*” being the preferred equivalent. “*Carlemagne*” was thus a direct accommodation of the Latin expression that the Carolingians themselves had come to apply to their king.⁸

Charlemagne did have critics while he still lived but they mostly remained quiet or did not record their criticisms. Adalhard, his cousin, was so displeased with the king’s abrupt divorce of his first wife, the daughter of Desiderius, king of the Lombards, that Adalhard withdrew from Charles’s court. Yet, the only record we have of his withdrawal did not surface for fifty years.⁹ The king’s eldest son, Pepin the Hunchback, participated in a revolt against his father but again we only have accounts of the revolt that are sympathetic to the king. Einhard blamed such conspiracies against Charlemagne on the provocations of his cruel and savage wife.¹⁰ Other revolts and his firm overthrow of subjected peoples, particularly the long conquest of the Saxons, are only related by sources sympathetic to Charles. What his relative and rival Tassilo of Bavaria, who was forcibly removed from his position, thought of his treatment at the king’s hands does not survive.

So far as the surviving record is concerned, Charlemagne and his court effectively controlled what was said about him. That court was his personal creation, was close at hand, and was intimate; the nicknames that the poets took and which include David in their playful circle suggest as much. Thus, by 800, the only sources that spoke in any depth or, in many cases, at all about Charlemagne came from his own, bought-and-paid-for poets, churchmen, and courtiers. Even when that first generation of poets and courtiers began to depart in the 790s, others such as Theodulf and Einhard emerged and took center stage.

The low point of Charlemagne’s early reputation was reached in the period 810–25.¹¹ As Charlemagne aged, criticism churned just below the surface. When he died, it at last erupted. His greatest and most dangerous critic was his own son and successor, at least in terms of what his actions said. Louis the Pious came to Aachen in 814, determined to reform

Charlemagne's palace and correct the abuses and corruption he associated with the Great One's court. As new leaders so often do, Louis defined his early reign as the reversal of the glaring deficiencies of his predecessor. He set about cleansing his father's palace by sending his sisters away and investigating the moral corruption of Aachen itself.¹² As part of his campaign for moral and religious rectitude, he soon insisted that his sons enter into legitimate marriages. One even senses in the exiled poet Ermold, when he was later trying to write his way back to court, that Louis's people thought Charlemagne had been far too war-like; *belliger*, the bringer and lover of war, not the *pacificus* so often praised by his poets.¹³

Next came the monastic dreamers, who saw Charlemagne suffering in some Carolingian equivalent to purgatory. The most dramatic of these was Wetti, who on his deathbed at Reichenau in November 824 slipped between the worlds of the living and the saved to take a startling tour over a panoramic terrain on which souls were being tested and purged, and there among the recently dead he found Charlemagne:

Wetti said that he had seen there a certain prince, who had once ruled Italy and the Roman people, and his genitals were being mangled by the teeth of a beast, although the rest of his body remained free from injury. Wetti was struck with violent bewilderment, wondering how so great a man, who had appeared almost alone among others in this modern age in defense of the Catholic faith and direction of the holy church, could have been inflicted with such a hideous punishment. His angelic guide quickly answered that although he had done many wonderful and praiseworthy things accepted by God, for which he would not be denied his reward, nevertheless, alongside these other goods offered to God, he had given himself up to the delight of debauchery and had chosen to end his long life in this state. It was as though the small obscenity and license allowed to human weakness could be covered over and completely hidden by the weight of his great goods. Nevertheless, said the guide, he is predestined to [eternal] life in the company of the elect.¹⁴

Wetti was not alone, for other dream texts from the early 820s contained the same criticism of a Charlemagne condemned to suffer purgatorial torment for his earthly lust and disordered domestic life.¹⁵

By the late 820s,¹⁶ Charlemagne's reputation needed saving. Einhard, his always loyal courtier, rose to the occasion. It was he who reminded this new age of Charlemagne's immense stature; it was he more than any other who packaged Charles as the Great One. The preface to his vastly influential *Vita Karoli* states his purpose:

I thought that it would be better to write these things down [his personal witness of events], along with other widely known details, for the sake of

posterity, than to allow the splendid life of this most excellent king, the greatest of all the men in his time, and his remarkable deeds, which people now alive can scarcely equal, to be swallowed up by the shadows of forgetfulness.¹⁷

In the wake of a decade's creeping assault on Charlemagne's reputation, Einhard supplied a rebuttal. The biography's purpose was not to criticize Louis the Pious directly, though there are indirect elements of that, but to defend and rehabilitate Charlemagne, the very memory of whom was now tarnished and fading.

More than anyone else it was Einhard who firmly affixed the epithet *MAGNVS* to *KAROLVS*. When Gerward, librarian and courtier of Louis the Pious, passed a copy along to this emperor, he introduced the *Vita Karoli* in these terms:

You, o reader, being wise, will know that magnificent Einhard
Wrote this account of the deeds of Charles the Great.¹⁸

Not all of the 134 surviving manuscripts of Einhard's small book carry the title, *Vita Karoli Magni*, or Einhard's preface,¹⁹ but the portrait of Charlemagne that Gerward knew was the story of Charles's greatness, just as later generations were to receive their principal image of Charles the Great from Einhard.²⁰ And what a packaged presentation of greatness it was. Einhard supplied his readers with all the essentials that would lead one to see Charles as the Great One: he was the conqueror of vast parcels of lands and suffered few setbacks; he was crowned Roman emperor with all that that would mean to future rulers; he had an internationally recognized greatness, be it in Jerusalem, Spain, Ireland, England, or Baghdad; he was also a builder, a patron of the church, and a loving friend and father. As presented by his biographer, Charlemagne was a man of many parts, and the *Vita Karoli* the chief source on which the selective reading of the later legend-makers could feed as they saw fit.

Einhard's mission was to lay out a consistent and more or less comprehensive statement of Charlemagne's greatness. In doing so, he also answered some of Charles's newly vocal critics. His emphasis, in particular, upon Charlemagne as the kind and caring father of a family was a response to the dream critics. Even those who doubt that Einhard's account is anything more than a straightforward account of the great one's career and achievements cannot ignore the biographer's discrete manipulation of material, the most obvious case being the collection and loaded presentation of the portents of Charlemagne's death toward the end of the book. To give but one example, he regards as a sign of Charlemagne's

approaching death that the bridge over the Rhine River at Mainz, which had seemed as if it might last forever, burned down in three hours, whereas earlier in the biography Einhard had noted that Charlemagne himself (evidently aware of the fragility of the structure) had wanted to rebuild it in stone.²¹

There are other inconsistencies of this sort as Einhard assembled his material, but less obvious are his various silences and subtle apologies. These not only testify to the prudence for which he was famed,²² but to his firm commitment to present the greatness of his king in the best possible light. There are two basic categories here: things that Einhard leaves out of the biography, but does not tell us he is leaving out, and things he leaves out, but tells us he is leaving out. In the former category, there is, for instance, the issuance of the *Divisio regnorum* of 806, by which Charlemagne divided his property between his three living sons. Einhard should have known about the document since he himself carried it to Rome.²³ Here too should be placed Charlemagne's execution of 4,500 Saxon rebels, a deed reported by the *Annales regni Francorum* but not by Einhard who surely knew of the event since he knew the annals.²⁴ Nor does he report on the various doctrinal controversies that stirred Charlemagne's court, though again he certainly knew of them from his own time at court and from his colleagues Alcuin and Theodulf.

More important is the second category, for in portraying Charlemagne's greatness Einhard frequently felt forced to act as an apologist. His preferred method for dealing with delicate matters was not to deal with them; instead he was wont to mention them and then plead ignorance. Into this category fall Charlemagne's childhood, the peremptory divorce of his Lombard wife, the flight of Carloman's wife and her family to Lombardy after King Carloman (Charlemagne's brother) died, and, of course, the conduct of his daughters. The last of these may serve as an example of how he handled areas of Charlemagne's life that were subject to criticism:

Although his daughters were extremely beautiful women and were deeply loved by him, it is strange to have to report that he never wanted to give any of them away in marriage to anyone, whether it be to a Frankish noble or to a foreigner. Instead he kept them close beside him at home until his death, saying that he could not stand to be parted from their company. Although he was otherwise happy, this situation caused him no end of trouble. But he always acted as if there was no suspicion of any sexual scandal on their part or that any such rumor had already spread far and wide.²⁵

The biographer could not ignore the problem itself, which was widely known, just as he did not hide the names of the Great One's illegitimate

children. Instead, Einhard first implied that he too did not understand why Charlemagne refused to be parted from his daughters, though it seems unlikely. Then, Einhard explained Charles's problematic daughters as a matter of Charlemagne's paternal love for his children, a theme of familial affection that dominates the description of his treatment of his children and friends.

In pursuing his case for Charlemagne's greatness, Einhard felt compelled to touch on most matters, even those that might cast his hero in a less than favorable light, but he avoided engaging the criticisms and preferred to deflect them whenever possible. The dreamers who criticized his debauchery were answered with an image of Charlemagne as a good father with a well-ordered domestic life. The critics of his sudden divorce of his Lombard wife were told that she was sent away for some unknown reason.²⁶ Critics of Charlemagne as being overly war-like were met with a description of his wars that is dry and less than stirring. Einhard said,

I would relate here how difficult it was for one to enter Italy across the Alps and what a struggle it was for the Franks to overcome unmarked mountain ridges, upthrust rocks, and rugged terrain, were it not my intention in this book to record the manner of his life, rather than the details of the wars he waged.²⁷

In these ways and many others, Einhard set down as consistent an account of Charles's greatness as he could. If he was the architect of the emperor's tomb at Aachen, as has been suggested,²⁸ we once again find him fusing the thematic and denominative: "Under this tomb lies the body of Charles the Great and Catholic emperor, who gloriously increased the kingdom of the Franks and ruled with great success for forty-seven years."²⁹

There is no mistaking the sustained case Einhard makes for Charlemagne's greatness or, at least, his readers never have. From the biography onward the epithet held; he was to be KAROLVS MAGNVS, Charles the Great. And Einhard, as he would in his history of the translation and miracles of the martyrs Marcellinus and Peter, was particularly adept at packaging and presenting images of greatness and power.³⁰ Carefully cultivating repute was to be his defining literary skill, whether of Charles, of the relics, or of himself in his letters. He lived in an age of hagiographers who were expert in the selective art of honoring the blessed. Their ostensible purpose was to demonstrate holiness and holy power but the result was the hoarding, localization, and control of the prestige attached to glorious saints. There were institutional, group, and individual advantages to be gained in nursing and promoting reputations, both those of the saints and of Charlemagne.

But as critical as Einhard's biography was for the establishment of Charles's greatness, something else was necessary, namely his relative elevation over the kings who preceded and followed him. The biographer had already handled the earlier princes (Charles Martel and Pepin the Short), and Louis's reign provided the answer to the rest. For Einhard had worked, Walahfrid Strabo said, during the reign of Louis, "when the state of the Franks was battered by many disturbances and was faltering in many places."³¹ Had Louis had a magnificent and trouble-free rule, Charles's reputation might never have taken off, for it was contingent upon the relative fates of his successors. Einhard's portrait of the king represented return and redemption, as it were, for Charlemagne's loyalists, a long line of men such as Theodulf (by then dead), Adalhard, Wala, and Heito of Basel, who had remained loyal to Charlemagne's memory or, at least, to his royal commitments. In the end, the *Vita Karoli* confirmed the earlier court image of Charlemagne that Louis's actions had for a brief time tainted. It was a vindication of the court that Einhard had known a quarter century earlier and of its chief product, the high praise of Charles.

The history of the 820s made this reclamation project possible. For the reputations of Charlemagne and Louis stand in inverse proportion; as Louis the Pious's fortunes sank his father's reputation rose. In other words, what may have mattered most in the success and spread of Charles's standing were the difficulties that Louis the Pious encountered not long after taking office and that continued throughout the remainder of his long reign. A long list of Louis's difficulties can be briefly ticked off:

- a wooden arcade collapsed upon him and his retinue on 9 April 817
- the revolt and death of his nephew Bernard of Italy in the aftermath of the daring *Ordinatio imperii* of 817 that had effectively dispossessed him of his kingdom
- critical appraisals of Louis in works such as *The Vision of the Poor Woman of Laon*³²
- his public confession and penance in 822 for the misdeeds of himself and his father, including those against Bernard, the Abbot Adalhard, and his brother Wala
- the birth in 823 of his son Charles the Bald, which would soon threaten the agreements with his older sons and the division of lands already set out in the *Ordinatio imperii*
- the appointment of Bernard of Septimania as his chamberlain and the subsequent resistance of his sons and their allies; the rumors of the adulterous relationship between the chamberlain and the empress Judith

- the first revolt of his sons in 830
- the second and more serious revolt of his sons in 833–4 and the deposition of the emperor
- the various Viking attacks of the 830s³³

Louis's problems made Charlemagne's reign seem all that much more impressive by contrast. Though the historical circumstances that faced the father and son were different and, in many ways, incomparable, that mattered little to the relative standing of their reputations. For as Louis struggled, Charlemagne's rising reputation became a criticism of his son's own mismanagement of the kingdom. Had Louis contained rather than dispersed his court, had Louis controlled a smaller set of scholars, had the educational reform and royal patronage of education that had begun under his father not been so successful that there were now many writers and many of them distant from Louis, he might not have had so many vocal and literate critics.

Still, Louis had his defenders.³⁴ If Einhard was an apologist for Charlemagne, Louis had two, both of whom sought to defend his actions and reputation against his vocal critics—Thegan cursed Archbishop Ebbo of Reims and the rise of servile men to power and the Astronomer criticized the wicked nobles who whispered in the ears of young and impressionable kings—but even these authors acknowledged certain weaknesses in Louis and his rule; for it was Louis who had indulged his sons and their nobles and empowered Ebbo. And whereas Charlemagne had suffered virtually no criticism during his own lifetime, Louis heard much that was sharp and admonitory. The *Vision of the Poor Woman of Laon* accused him of murder. The treatises against Louis and Judith, written by the likes of Agobard of Lyons at the time of the revolts, are chillingly frank. By mid-century, a decade after Louis's death, Paschasius Radbertus wrote of the wrongs that Louis had worked upon Wala, the confusion of Louis's court, and the wickedness of Bernard of Septimania and the empress.³⁵ Audradus Modicus, in his revelations, saw Christ in a great tribunal in the sky. When the Savior asked those present who was responsible for the disorder among his people, they answered that it was "the fault of our kings." Louis the Pious, not Charlemagne, was then led before Christ to answer for the swelling disorder that had shaken Christendom, but even he managed to pass the blame to his eldest son, the too-proud Lothar.³⁶

No text expresses the relative standing of the Carolingian kings better than the so-called *Visio Karoli Magni* written near the end of the ninth century, probably at Mainz.³⁷ In the vision, Charlemagne has a dream in which he is presented with a sword inscribed with four German words.

He interprets these as standing for the four periods of recent Carolingian history: his own when all things were good, secure, and peaceful since the kingdom's enemies had been overcome by arms; his sons's when material prosperity would begin to fail and subject peoples to break away; his grandsons's when everything would fail and greed would come to ruin all human and religious life; and finally an endtime when either the world itself would fail or his very dynasty die out. Charlemagne the dreamer here effectively lays out the steadily sinking stature of four generations of Carolingian kings. Charlemagne stands at the peak, looking down on the progressive failure of his heirs and the collapse of his dynasty and kingdom.

By this time, Charlemagne's reputation itself was, in this final form, unassailable. His was the one firm promontory in a flat and scarred landscape. No wonder that Nithard, in his melancholy history of the civil war waged between the sons of Louis the Pious, begins and ends with the shining example of Charlemagne. Nithard begins,

When Emperor Charles of blessed memory, rightfully called the Great by all the nations, died at a ripe old age, about the third hour of the day, he left the whole of Europe flourishing. For in his time he was a man who so much excelled all others in wisdom and virtue that to everyone on earth he appeared both terrible and worthy of love and admiration. Thus, he made his whole reign in every way glorious and salutary, as was apparent to everyone.³⁸

From this high point, Nithard descends with his intended reader, Charles the Bald, for the rest of the first book of his *Historiae* through the troubles experienced by Louis the Pious, the very ones that had come to entangle the young Charles the Bald in endless strife. But at the end of his work, after following the machinations, broken promises, greed, and evil deeds of Lothar against his brothers, Nithard returns to Charlemagne:

In the times of Charles the Great of good memory, who died almost thirty years ago, peace and concord ruled everywhere because our people were treading the one proper way, the way of the common welfare, and thus the way of God. But now since each goes his separate way, dissension and struggle abound. Once there was abundance and happiness everywhere, now everywhere there is want and sadness. Once even the elements smiled on everything, and now they threaten, as Scripture which was left to us as the gift of God, testifies: "And the world will wage war against the mad" (Sap. 5:21).³⁹

By Nithard's time, Charlemagne's reputation was fixed and secure: he was the Great Charles, a comforting and haunting pinnacle to his descendants

and the Franks. That image satisfied not only Charles the Bald and his court, but his brothers as well. Charlemagne had become a figure for them not only of legitimation but also one of inspiration and consolation. Already taking shape was the religious cult of Charlemagne, the legendary stories told by Notker, the Saxon poet's life of Charlemagne, and others, many of which are dealt with in this volume. And, not far from the recorded image, there surely existed an oral legend of the Great One, whispered around common hearths and noble tables, which we may still detect dimly in some of Notker's colorful tales.

But it all might have turned out differently, not the events or importance of the king's life, but the way he was remembered and his reputation recalled from its low point. Sizing up legends is not the same as sizing up careers; for the latter considers the all, while the former is a matter of selective reading and selective memory, a question of emphasis and need. If Einhard and posterity chose *magnus* as the most fitting epithet for *Karolus*, perhaps the students of his legend might more usefully think of him as KAROLVS FELIX, Charles "the Fortunate," for everything turned out well for the birth, embalming, and enshrinement of his legend, in part because it had had such a very good and fortuitous beginning and because it soon became so necessary.

Notes

1. For a useful introduction to the theoretical issues surrounding reputations, see Gary Alan Fine, *Difficult Reputations: Collective Memories of the Evil, Inept, and Controversial* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), pp. 1–31.
2. *Karolus Magnus et Leo Papa*, ed. Ernst Dümmler, MGH PLAC 1 (Berlin, 1881), p. 367.
3. See Paul Edward Dutton, *Charlemagne's Mustache and Other Cultural Clusters of a Dark Age* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp. 69–92, 221–34.
4. For an overview of the relationship, see Maristella Lorch, "Petrarch, Cicero, and the Classical Pagan Tradition," in *Renaissance Humanism: Foundations, Forms, and Legacy*, ed. Albert Rabil, Jr., vol. 1 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988), pp. 71–94.
5. *Annales regni Francorum*, ed. F. Kurze, MGH SRG (Hanover, 1895).
6. See Roger Collins, "The 'Reviser' Revisited: Another Look at the Alternative Version of the *Annales Regni Francorum*," in *After Rome's Fall: Narrators and Sources of Early Medieval History. Essays Presented to Walter Goffart*, ed. Alexander Callander Murray (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), pp. 191–213.
7. For example, see Robin Seager, *Pompey the Great*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002).

8. Alan Wilshire, "Sermo vulgaris or Sermo urbanus," *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, 9 (1973): 204.
9. Paschasius Radbertus, *Vita sancti Adalhardi abbatis Corbeiensis in Gallia*, PL 120:1511.
10. Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni*, ed. G. Waitz, 6th ed., MGH SRG (Hanover, 1911), pp. 25–6.
11. For example see Thomas F. X. Noble's chapter in this volume.
12. Astronomer, *Vita Hludowici imperatoris*, MGH SS 2: 618–19; *Capitulare de disciplina palatii Aquisgranensis*, ed. A. Boretius, MGH Capitularia regum Francorum 1 (Hanover, 1883), p. 298.
13. Ermold, *In honorem Hludowici*, in *Ermold le Noir, Poème sur Louis le Pieux et épîtres au roi Pépin*, ed. E. Faral (Paris: Champion, 1932), p. 66.
14. Heito, *Visio Wettini* 11, ed. Ernst Dümmler, MGH PLAC 2 (Berlin, 1884), p. 271. English trans. Paul Edward Dutton, *The Politics of Dreaming in the Carolingian Empire* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), pp. 63–4.
15. Heito, *Visio Wettini*, 50–80.
16. There is some debate on the dating of the *Vita Karoli*. See Thomas F. X. Noble's chapter in this volume for an overview of the relevant literature.
17. *Vita Karoli Magni*, preface, ed. Waitz, p. 1. English trans. Paul Edward Dutton, *Charlemagne's Courtier: The Complete Einhard* (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 1998), p. 15.
18. Gerward, *Versus*, ed. Dümmler, MGH PLAC 2, p. 126. English trans. Dutton, *Charlemagne's Courtier*, p. 4.
19. See now the comprehensive study by Matthias M. Tischler, *Einhard's "Vita Karoli": Studien zur Entstehung, Überlieferung und Rezeption* (Hanover: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 2001), pp. 8–44.
20. See David Ganz, "Einhard's Charlemagne: The Characterisation of Greatness," in *Charlemagne: Empire and Society*, ed. Joanna Story (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2005), pp. 38–51.
21. *Vita Karoli Magni*, ed. Waitz, pp. 36, 20.
22. Walahfrid Strabo, "Prologue," in *Vita Karoli Magni*, ed. Waitz, p. 29. English trans. Dutton, *Charlemagne's Courtier*, pp. 7–8.
23. *Annales regni Francorum*, anno 806, ed. Kurze, p. 121.
24. *Annales regni Francorum*, anno 782, p. 62.
25. *Vita Karoli Magni*, ed. Waitz, p. 25. English trans. Dutton, *Charlemagne's Courtier*, p. 29.
26. *Vita Karoli Magni*, ed. Waitz, p. 22.
27. *Vita Karoli Magni*, ed. Waitz, p. 9. English trans. Dutton, *Charlemagne's Courtier*, 19.
28. Dutton, *Charlemagne's Courtier*, p. 14; Dutton, *Charlemagne's Mustache*, pp. 112, 241.
29. *Vita Karoli Magni* 31, ed. Waitz, pp. 35–6. English trans. Dutton, *Charlemagne's Courtier*, p. 36.

30. For example, Julia M. H. Smith, "'Emending Evil Ways and Praising God's Omnipotence': Einhard and the Uses of Roman Martyrs," in *Conversion in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Seeing and Believing*, ed. Kenneth Mills and Anthony Grafton (Rochester, NY: Rochester University Press, 2003), pp. 189–223.
31. Walahfrid Strabo, "Prologue," xxix. English trans. Dutton, *Charlemagne's Courtier*, p. 8.
32. Hubert Houben, "Visio cuiusdam pauperculae mulieris: Überlieferung und Herkunft eines frühmittelalterlichen Visionstextes," *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 124 (1976): 41–2. English trans. Paul Edward Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization: A Reader*, 2nd ed. (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2004), pp. 203–4.
33. On the events of Louis the Pious's reign, see *Charlemagne's Heir: New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious (814–840)*, ed. Peter Godman and Roger Collins (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990); Egon Boshof, *Ludwig der Fromme* (Darmstadt: Primus, 1996); and Theo Kolzer, *Kaiser Ludwig der Fromme (814–840) im Spiegel seiner Urkunden* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2005); among others.
34. On the shaping of Louis's story, see Courtney Booker, *Writing a Wrong: The Penance of Louis the Pious and the Decline of the Carolingians*, forthcoming.
35. See the discussion in Dutton, *Politics of Dreaming*, 81–112, esp. 100–3, 81–2.
36. Audradus, *Liber reuelationum*, ed. Ludwig Traube, in *O Roma nobilis. Philologische Untersuchungen aus dem Mittelalter* (Münich: Verlag der königliche Akademie in Commission bei G. Franz, 1891), pp. 383–5. English trans. Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization*, 354–7.
37. *Visio Karoli Magni*, ed. P. Jaffé, *Bibliotheca rerum germanicarum* 4 (Berlin: Apud Weidmannos, 1868), pp. 701–4. English trans. Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization*, 456–7. On the vision, see Dutton, *The Politics of Dreaming*, 201–10; Patrick Geary, "Germanic Tradition and Royal Ideology in the Ninth Century," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 21 (1987): 274–94.
38. Nithard, *Historiae* 1.1, in *Histoire des fils de Louis le Pieux*, ed. P. Lauer (Paris: Champion, 1964), p. 4. English trans. Bernhard Walter Scholz with Barbara Rogers, in *Carolingian Civilization*, ed. Dutton, 298.
39. Nithard, *Historiae* 4.6, ed. Lauer, 144. English trans. Scholz and Rogers, *Carolingian Civilization*, ed. Dutton, 331.

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PART I

MEMORIES OF CAROLINGIAN KINGSHIP

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CHAPTER 3

AL-HĀKIM, CHARLEMAGNE, AND THE DESTRUCTION OF THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHER IN JERUSALEM IN THE WRITINGS OF ADEMAR OF CHABANNES

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“**T**he temple of the Christian world, the church of the Resurrection, was demolished to its foundation; the luminous prodigy of Easter was interrupted, and much profane labor was exhausted to destroy the cave in the rock which properly constitutes the holy Sepulchre.”¹ So Edward Gibbon described the destruction of the central church of Christendom in 1009 by the Fatimid caliph al-Hākim. At the center of the present chapter is this event that many in the West viewed as indicative of the beginning of the Last Days. The apocalyptic dimensions of this figure and this event merit much more attention than they have yet received.

In the course of the late tenth and eleventh century, Jerusalem had become a religious black hole to which rivers of enthusiastic pilgrims streamed, a mass movement fed by a heightened sense of the proximity of the Last Days, with the *visio pacis* as its terminus.² The rising economic prosperity of the West and the concomitant changes in spirituality and mentality were central to this movement. Hence, any attacks on the Holy City, and especially on its most sacred Christian shrine the church of the Holy Sepulcher, which claimed to contain the tomb of Christ and the cross on which He died, would, not surprisingly, result in an outcry in Western Europe.³

Among those writing in the period about the destruction and the Western reaction was Ademar of Chabannes (ca. 988–1034), whose

chronicle, produced in Aquitaine in the 1020s, gives a detailed picture of the occurrence.⁴ Chronicler of his own times and the immediately preceding centuries, but also writer of sermons, liturgical pieces, music, drawings, and many copies of earlier writings important to a monastic milieu, his collection of manuscripts is the largest of its kind from any one individual of the early Middle Ages. He records the destruction of the Holy Sepulcher by al-Hākim in 1009 and the Western response in the following fashion:

In that very year [1009, although Ademar has 1010] the tomb of the Lord in Jerusalem was smashed by the Jews and Saracens. . . . For Western Jews and Saracens of Spain had sent letters to the East accusing the Christians of ordering armies of Franks to attack the Eastern Saracens. Then the Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon [i.e. al-Hākim, with Babylon the name of Cairo in the West], whom they call the Admired, aroused to fury by the persuasion of the pagans carried out a great persecution of the Christians and made a law that required all Christians by their own will to become Muslims or either have their goods confiscated or be killed. Whence it happened that innumerable Christians were converted to the Saracen law and no one was worthy for death in Christ except the patriarch of Jerusalem, who was killed by various tortures, and two young brothers in Egypt who were decapitated and became illustrious through many miracles. And the church of St. George which to that point could be violated by none of the Saracens, then was destroyed, with many other churches of the saints, and with our sins meriting, the basilica of the tomb of the Lord was destroyed even to the lowest parts. When they could not at all crush to pieces the stones of the monument, they added much fire, but as if the hardest substance, it remained immobile and solid.⁵

Ralph Glaber in his *Histories* also has an account of the destruction of the Holy Sepulcher in 1009.⁶ In Glaber's work, it was the letters from Western Jews, particularly those of Orléans, that warned al-Hākim of the danger from the Christian pilgrims.⁷

[The Jews] alleged that if he did not quickly destroy the venerable Church of the Christians, then they would soon occupy his whole realm, depriving him of all his power. When the prince heard this he was transported with rage and he sent some of his servants to Jerusalem to destroy the Temple. Once there they did as he commanded, but when they tried to shatter the block of stone about the Sepulcher with iron hammers they failed. Then they also destroyed the church of the holy martyr George at Ramla, although previously his power had always terrified the Saracens, for it is said that he often struck blind those who invaded his church in search of plunder.⁸

Both accounts emphasize the fury of Hākim's destruction of the Holy Sepulcher, a smashing that Ademar's description underlines by spelling out the efforts in detail. Both emphasize the difficulty in destroying the structure, surely as a way of indicating God's protection for the building housing the remains of the True Cross, which is so important throughout Ademar's writings.⁹

Ademar presents the Cross as the instrument of Christ's triumph through which he was able to bind Satan in hell. He also, in chapter forty-six of book three of the *Chronicon*, the chapter immediately preceding the description of the destruction of the Temple, presents a powerful vision he had had of Christ on the Cross weeping a river of tears.¹⁰ The Cross in the *Chronicon* is blood red and can be viewed as an image of the Tau Cross, the sign of the Last Days that which will rise into the heavens when the Last Emperor will lay down his crown in Jerusalem on the Mount of Olives and usher in the appearance of the Antichrist.¹¹ This chapter now examines Ademar's interconnection of the destruction of the church of the Holy Sepulcher, al-Hākim who possessed many of the features of the Antichrist, and Charlemagne as that Last Emperor, the great protector of the Holy Sepulcher and the Cross.

Ademar has much to say about the destroyer of the church of the Holy Sepulcher.¹² He depicts God's displeasure with al-Hākim's actions by indicating that when the Muslims tried to destroy the church in Bethlehem, a shining light appeared and all the attackers fell down dead.¹³ The protection of the monastery of Mount Sinai was even more extraordinary. When 1,000 warriors got to within 4 miles of the house and its 500 monks, the whole mountain seemed to be aflame and thus the Muslims did not attack. When they told al-Hākim, he and his people greatly regretted what they had done and did penance. He ordered the church of the Holy Sepulcher, the Temple, rebuilt.¹⁴

God's anger would not be assuaged, however, and caused a great famine of three years over al-Hākim's lands, which were filled with corpses. Then the famine-ridden people of Arabia rose up in anger and captured al-Hākim "the ruler who had raised himself against God in pride" and executed the caliph in a particularly gruesome fashion "opening his stomach, extracting the viscera and hurling the wicked spirit into the abyss. His stomach was filled with stones and sewn up and his body then with lead attached to the neck was plunged into the sea."¹⁵

Glaber's picture of al-Hākim after the destruction of the Holy Sepulcher is almost nonexistent. Rather than focusing on God's anger with the ruler of Babylon, Glaber continues his attacks on the Jews. It is the Jews

who suffer by being driven from their lands and cities and forced into hiding after the destruction of the Temple. They became "the objects of universal hatred."¹⁶ He does add that the mother of al-Hākim, a most Christian woman named Maria, "began with well-dressed stones to rebuild the Temple of Christ which had been destroyed by the command of her son. Then an incredible multitude of men from all over the world came exultantly to Jerusalem bearing countless gifts for the restoration of the house of God."¹⁷

The picture of al-Hākim presented by Ademar and Glaber is not wholly different from what history now says of the real al-Hākim, albeit theirs remains somewhat more monochromatic. The historical al-Hakim bi-Amr Allāh (996–1021) was the sixth Fatimid caliph of Egypt. He succeeded his father al-Aziz at the age of eleven and had a highly turbulent and controversial reign.¹⁸ From ca. 1000 he ruled as an absolute despot, although there are features of his reign that indicate a ruler aware of his position in the world, such as the ten-year truce he concluded with Basil II and the Byzantines in 1001.

Even in the East, it was his capriciousness in religious matters that is best remembered. He began a persecution of Jews and Christians ca. 1003, including destruction of churches, which seems to have reached a zenith around 1009, yet would continue on and off until his death. The destruction of the church of the Holy Sepulcher may have been the result of his anger at the Christians for using trickery in the ignition of the new fire in that church on Holy Saturday, but in the context of his persecutions overall, that is only a possibility.¹⁹

The sources indicate a man of austere morality but also one who was highly despotic and mentally unstable, even claiming that he was divine. Throughout his reign, he often seems to have wandered about Cairo, that city known as Babylon in the West, in fits of madness. The result seems to have been a populace in great fear of his actions.

Finally, in February 1021 he disappeared while walking outside Cairo. Five days later, his clothing was found pierced with dagger holes, although his body did not appear. Subsequently, the Druze sect that had originated ca. 1017 viewed him as the final imam, the Mahdi whose return would usher in the final days.²⁰

How much of the picture of the real al-Hākim would be known to Ademar and others in the West? It is likely that reports from returning pilgrims and visitors from the East would have supplied enough information to enable Ademar to see al-Hākim as an Antichrist, if not THE Antichrist.²¹ He was quintessentially evil, from Babylon, destroyer and rebuilder of the Temple, a false image of Christ with a mother named Maria and uncles as patriarchs of Jerusalem and Alexandria, and his

minions, heretics, were appearing in the West precisely during al-Hākim's rule in Babylon.²²

Ademar's sermons are filled with images of these heretics, likely the Bogomils, as the antichrists.²³ These heretics are joined to the Muslims and Jews in his thought as creatures of darkness. His sermon that most fully considers the Muslims is the longest in his final collection in D.S. MS Lat 1664 stretching from folio 83v–96r and examines as its central theme the struggle between good and evil, the forces defending the salvific truth brought by Christ against the attacks of Satan and his spawn.²⁴ The piece emphasizes the heretics', among whom prominently are the Saracens, ties to the devil and hell. For them, there is no salvation. The result is the necessity of fighting against Satan and his minions, with the forces of goodness led by the bishops who carry the truth of Christ that gives illumination. This means that there is a constant necessity of the defense of Christendom. Yet, the True Faith (*vera fides*) will triumph through the conquest of the devil and his forces.²⁵ This true faith is the Trinitarian orthodoxy that was taught at the great councils of the Patristic period in opposing heretics like the Sabellians and Arians.²⁶ Ademar emphasizes that the Saracens are like these earlier heretics in not being orthodox Trinitarian and thus are vessels of Satan (*vas diaboli*), more difficult to convert than pagans.²⁷ As creatures of Satan, the father of lies and the being who brought death and confusion into the world, they do not know the Truth. In their confusion, they tend to err in many ways. In sexuality, they engage in bestiality, homosexual relations, and have many wives. In their worship, their kiss of peace is on the anus. Ademar also includes in this sermon a long segment on the observations of a Christian captive at a Muslim worship service in which demons in the forms of black dogs eat the offerings and then urinate in the vessels.²⁸ Ademar's evil and erroneous Saracens, servants of a wicked and unholy trinity, are very like those that appear in the Oxford *Chanson de Roland*.²⁹

The sermon then goes on to examine the triumph of Christ over the forces of darkness. By His sacrifice, He overcame the death brought into the world by Satan.³⁰ Christ then reinforces His power over the demonic beings by the harrowing of hell and the rescue of the souls of the saved.³¹ The piece concludes with a consideration of the ultimate triumph of the faith at the Last Judgment after which the wicked will remain in hell with Satan forever.³² In this fashion, Ademar ends his long presentation of the duality of reality, an Augustinian City of God versus the City of Man, true Christians versus the forces of darkness, and good versus evil. In many ways, this sermon looks forward to the propaganda pieces later used to draw Christians on crusade.³³

If the apocalyptic imagery reflects Ademar's mindset and that of others in the West in this period, Christendom needed its principal defender to arise in these last days.³⁴ This is the Last Emperor whose appearance is so closely associated with the Antichrist in the end times.³⁵ Adso of Montier-en-Der's work on the Antichrist, written in the mid-tenth century and a piece Ademar, like so many others of the period, seemed to know well, has much on the role of this figure in the last days.³⁶ The Last Emperor for Adso will be a king of the Franks who will come in the last times and possess anew the Roman Empire. He will be the last and greatest of all rulers. After successfully ruling his empire, he will come at last to Jerusalem and put his scepter and crown on the Mount of Olives. This will be the end and the consummation of the Roman and Christian Empire. Then will come the Antichrist.³⁷

In Ademar's writings, it is Charlemagne who will be the Last Emperor.³⁸ The figure of the great Charles is (literally) central in Ademar's chronicle, for the second of its three books is focused on Charlemagne.³⁹ Ademar also copied Einhard's *Vita Karoli*, which he began by illustrating its subject, a depiction that very much resembles early medieval portrayals of Christ.⁴⁰ This Charlemagne appears as Christ's man on earth, a relationship like that found in the imperial chapel in Aachen with its scene in the dome of Christ seated in majesty, presiding at the Last Judgment directly over the throne of Charlemagne.⁴¹

Ademar also makes several important additions to book two of his *Chronicon* that indicate clearly his great interest in Charlemagne. One of these recounts Charlemagne's support for the bringing of Roman chant to Frankish lands, emphasizing orthodoxy and conformity of observance of Roman ways throughout Charlemagne's kingdom.⁴² The second long insertion is very important in indicating Ademar's elevation of the great Charles. The barebones account of the emperor's demise in the Royal Annals simply indicates the date of death, his age, and a few highlights of his reign.⁴³ Einhard adds a number of details, including the preparation of the body, the funeral service, the place of burial in the imperial chapel at Aachen, and the inscription on the tomb.⁴⁴ Ademar's account is another matter entirely. He describes Charlemagne sitting on the imperial throne with a golden sword, a golden gospel book in his hands and on his knees, on his head a golden diadem with a piece of the True Cross inserted in it, and a golden scepter and shield consecrated by Pope Leo placed before him.⁴⁵

Ademar also underlines the close ties between Charlemagne and Jerusalem. He repeats material from the *Annales regni Francorum* on the monastic visitors from Jerusalem in 799, who brought Charlemagne blessings and relics from the Holy Sepulcher and who in turn would be

sent back to the Holy City with a certain Zacharias, laden with presents.⁴⁶ Ademar also copies from the *Annales*, the account of the return of Zacharias with monks from the Mount of Olives and Saint Sabas who arrived in Rome several days before the imperial coronation in 800. They brought to Charlemagne as gifts from the patriarch of Jerusalem the keys to the Holy Sepulcher, Calvary, Jerusalem and Mount of Olives, together with a banner. Charlemagne would later send these visitors back with many gifts.⁴⁷ Einhard added that Charlemagne had good relations with Harun al-Rashid and had received from him the holy sites in Jerusalem as part of his jurisdiction.⁴⁸ Ademar mentions this relationship as well.

Charlemagne's ties to Jerusalem for Ademar are further seen in the Frankish ruler's association with the True Cross, not surprising for one so closely identified with Christ and serving as protector of the church over Christ's tomb.⁴⁹ The symbol of the Cross had served as Charlemagne's insignia and was a central image during the Carolingian renaissance.⁵⁰ Yet, for Ademar it was the actual Cross itself that he identified with Charlemagne, and especially a gift of a piece of the Cross that Charlemagne gave to the monastery of Charroux.⁵¹ If Ademar did not see the piece in Charroux itself, he likely did so when it was brought to his own house of Saint Cybard.⁵²

Yet Charlemagne's connection to the alpha Cross, the sacred wood that bore the body of Christ, is overshadowed in Ademar's mind by the omega Cross, the Tau Cross, because he believed the great Charles would be the Last Emperor.⁵³ Scholars have already commented upon Ademar's role in the development of the image of *Carolus Redivivus* in connection with his description in his chronicle of the opening of the tomb in Aachen by Otto III in 1000, a description that complements what he described in his material on the burial of Charlemagne.⁵⁴ Ademar writes,

In those days Emperor Otto was admonished in a dream to raise the body of Emperor Charles the Great which was buried at Aachen. But obliterated by age, the precise place where he was resting was unknown. At the end of a fast of three days he was found in that place which the emperor had seen in the dream. He was sitting on a golden throne in an arched crypt within the basilica of Mary, crowned with a crown of gold and gems and holding a scepter and sword of purest gold. The body itself was found uncorrupted. It was raised and shown to the people.⁵⁵

Beyond the fact that the tomb was opened in 1000 and that what was found was very like what Ademar presented in the burial scene, one must note that it was through a dream that Otto knew where to find Charlemagne, resting, *quiescebat*.⁵⁶ This image of vitality is further developed in that he was

sitting on his throne, wearing his golden crown, and holding his scepter and sword with his uncorrupted body. *Carolus redivivus*—yes, but even more—Charlemagne ready to go forth and fight the armies of darkness as the Last Emperor.

The role of the Last Emperor is to defend Christendom before the Apocalypse. The image developed in the course of the early Middle Ages and was first forcefully elaborated in the work of a seventh-century writer from Mesopotamia, the Pseudo-Methodius, in which the Last Emperor appears “roused from a drunken stupor like one whom men had thought dead and worthless.”⁵⁷ *Carolus redivivus*. In the tenth-century West, it was Adso’s work on the Antichrist that presented the best-known depiction.⁵⁸

That Charlemagne was the protector of Jerusalem, especially the church of the Holy Sepulcher with its remains of the True Cross, for Ademar is already clear. However, can one see a similar interest in connecting Charlemagne to the Mount of Olives?⁵⁹ Here again the answer is strongly affirmative. Elsewhere, I have demonstrated that Ademar forged a letter from the monks of the Mount of Olives that appeared as one of the final items in his most apocalyptically oriented manuscript, likely his final collection before his departure for Jerusalem in 1033.⁶⁰ In this letter, the pilgrim monks under the protection of Charlemagne wrote to their guardian and emphasize that they are strong supporters of the Western *filioque* that they purportedly had learned in Rome and at Charlemagne’s court.⁶¹ The letter stresses the central importance of orthodoxy associated with Pope Leo and Charlemagne, an orthodoxy much on Ademar’s mind in his own writings, particularly this final manuscript, because of the appearance of heretics in the West, figures clearly in league with the devil whom he calls antichrists, individuals not surprisingly appearing when al-Hākim is destroying and rebuilding the Temple in Jerusalem.⁶² Ademar sees himself living in the last times and thus the preoccupation with Charlemagne as the Last Emperor.

It should not be surprising in this context that Ademar himself would leave for Jerusalem in 1033 to become a pilgrim monk on the Mount of Olives. In DS MS Lat. 1664, in one of his few insertions into his copy of Bede’s commentary on the book of the Apocalypse, Ademar, following the teachings of Augustine, indicates that one cannot know when the end will occur.⁶³ Yet there were so many indications, such as al-Hākim’s actions in Jerusalem, Charlemagne found sleeping in his tomb in 1000, heresy growing in so many places, signs in the heavens, and so on, that he thought it necessary to go forth to meet the end in Jerusalem.⁶⁴ Though life did continue after 1033, Ademar’s did not. He died in Jerusalem in 1034, possibly one of the many victims of the great earthquake there that year.⁶⁵

Ademar's writings give us many insights into the reality of the apocalyptic fears of this period, help to explain the great interest in Charlemagne and his legend, and especially the increasing Western fascination with Jerusalem. The destruction of the church of the Holy Sepulcher provoked a proto-Crusade called by Pope Sergius IV in 1010, yet one that did not draw the response from the West in the way that Pope Urban II's call at Clermont in 1095 would.⁶⁶ The hatred of the Muslims so evident in Ademar's writings, a loathing based in substantial part on the apocalyptic fears of the time, would also be evident in the later Oxford *Chanson de Roland*, a work that in addition celebrated Charlemagne as the great protector of the West.⁶⁷ That hatred, however, was not yet sufficiently widespread in the early eleventh century to produce the movement of thousands of warriors on the Holy City. Still, the period between 950 and 1050 deserves more attention than it has received in examining the roots of the Crusades and the developing hatred between East and West. Charlemagne may not have yet returned, but apocalyptic fears associated with the Last Emperor and the Antichrist would continue to play a significant role in keeping Jerusalem central in the mind of the West.

Notes

1. Edward Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. H. H. Milman, vol. 5 (New York: T. Y. Crowell, 1851), p. 532. For Gibbon's early interest in Islam see David Womersley, *Gibbon and the 'Watchmen of the Holy City': The Historian and His Reputation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), pp. 147–72. Another perspective on Gibbon and Islam appears in Peter Ghosh, "The Conception of Gibbon's *History*," in *Edward Gibbon and Empire*, ed. Rosamond McKitterick and Roland Quinault (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 271–316. Material in this chapter appeared in papers delivered at the annual Sewanee conference at the University of the South in the spring of 2000 and a meeting of the Haskins Society at Cornell University in October of 2003. I wish to express my gratitude to the organizers of these programs.
2. On the attraction of Jerusalem in this period, see Daniel F. Callahan, "Jerusalem in the Monastic Imaginations of the Early Eleventh Century," *Haskins Society Journal* 6 (1994): 119–127.
3. Still basic for the general background is Richard W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1953). See also Adriaan Bredero, *Christendom and Christianity in the Middle Ages*, trans. R. Bruinsma (Grand Rapids, MI: W. B. Eerdmans, 1994), pp. 79–104. For a different view on the Western reaction, see John France, "The

Destruction of Jerusalem and the First Crusade," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 47 (1996): 1–17.

4. Ademar of Chabannes, *Chronicon*, ed. Richard Landes and Georges Pon, CCCM 129 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999). An excellent bibliography of writings about Ademar is found in Richard Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse and the Deceits of History: Ademar of Chabannes, 989–1034* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995). Subsequently, in addition to the writings of Richard Landes and myself, James Grier has written extensively on Ademar and music and Michael Frassetto has a number of pieces on Ademar and heresy, most recently Michael Frassetto, "Pagans, Heretics, Saracens, and Jews in the Sermons of Ademar of Chabannes," in *Heresy and the Persecuting Society in the Middle Ages: Essays on the Work of R. I. Moore*, ed. M. Frassetto (Leiden: Brill, 2006), pp. 73–91.
5. Ademar, *Chronicon*, III, 47, pp. 166–7. "Ipso anno sepulchrum Domini Hierosolimis confractum est a Judeis et Sarracenis.... Nam Judei occidentales et Sarraceni Hispanie miserunt epistolas in Orientem, accusantes Christianos et mandantes exercitus Francorum super Sarracenos orientales commotos esse. Tunc Nabuchodonosor Babilonie, quem vocant Admiratum, concitatus suasu paganorum in iram, afflictionem non parvam in Christianos exercuit, deditque legem ut quicumque christiani de sua potestate nollent fieri Sarraceni, aut confiscarentur aut interficerentur. Unde factum est ut innumerabiles christianorum converterentur ad legem Sarracenam, et nemo pro Christo morte dignus fuit preter patriarcham Jherosolimorum, qui variis supplicis occisus est, et duos adolescentes germanos in Egipto, qui decollati sunt et multis claruerunt miraculis. Nam ecclesia Sancti Georgii, que actenus a nullo Sarracenorum potuit violari, tunc destructa est cum aliis multis ecclesiis sanctorum, et peccatis nostris promerentibus, basilica sepulchri Domini usque ad solum diruta. Lapidem monumenti cum nullatenus possent comminuere, ignem copiosum superadiciunt, sed quasi adamans immobilis mansit et solidus." See also Ademar's similar description of the destruction and later rebuilding in *Commemoratio Abbatum Lemovicensium Basilice s. Marcialis Apostoli*, in *Chroniques de Saint-Martial de Limoges*, ed. Henri Duplès-Agier (Paris: Mme. Ve. J. Renouard, 1874), pp. 7–8.
6. Rodulfus Glaber, *Historiarum Libri Quinque*, ed. and trans. John France (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989). The English translations are those of John France unless otherwise noted.
7. This matter is considered in greater depth in my essay "The Cross, the Jews and the Destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in the Writings of Ademar of Chabannes" in *Christian Attitudes toward the Jews in the Middle Ages: A Casebook*, ed. Michael Frassetto (New York: Routledge, 2007), pp. 15–23.
8. Glaber, *Historiarum*, III, vii, 24, pp. 134–5. "Et quoniam nisi celerius domum Christianorum venerabilem subverteret, sciret se in proximum Christianis regnum illius occupantibus omni penitus dignitate carere.

His vero princeps auditis, protinus furore arreptus, misit Hierosolimam de suis qui predictum funditus subverterent templum. Qui venientes fecerunt ut eis fuerat imperatum; ipsum quoque concauum sepulchri tumulum ferri tuditibus quassare temptantes, minime valuerunt. Tunc etiam beati martyris Georgii ecclesiam in Ramulo pariter subverterunt, cuius olim virtus Sarracenorum nimium gentem terruerat; fertur enim crebro illuc eos ingredi cupientes raptum cecitatem pertulisse." I have changed the translation of the Latin *templum* from France's "church" to "Temple."

9. My forthcoming book *The Making of a Millennial Pilgrim: Jerusalem and the Cross in the Life and Writings of Ademar of Chabannes* examines this material in much greater depth and in a wider context.
10. Ademar, *Chronicon*, III, 46, pp. 165–6. "Et supradictus monachus Ademar, qui tunc cum avunculo suo inclito Rotgerio Lemovicas degebat in monasterio Sancti Martialis, experrectus in tempesta noctis, dum foris astra susciperet, vidit in austrum in altitudine celi magnum crucifixum quasi confixum in celo et Domini pendentem figuram in cruce, multo flumine lacrimarum plorantem. Qui autem haec vidit, attonitus, nihil aliud potuit agere quam lacrimas ab oculis profundere. Vidit vero tam ipsam crucem quam figuram Crucifixi colere igneo et nimis sanguineo totam per dimidiam noctis horam, quousque celo sese clauderet. Et quod vidit semper in corde celavit, quousque hic scripsit, testisque est Dominus quod haec vidit." Ademar also left an illustration of Christ on the Cross in a manuscript that is now in Leiden, but the illustration does not begin to match the power of the written description of the figure of the crucified Christ in the heavens. On this drawing see Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, "Les dessins d'Adémar de Chabannes," *Bulletin du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques*, n.s., 3 (1967): 199–200. See also on both the written passage and drawing Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse*, 87–9, 117–118, and 300–8.
11. On Ademar and the Tau Cross, see Daniel F. Callahan, "The Tau Cross in the Writings of Ademar of Chabannes," in *The Year 1000: Religious and Social Response to the Turning of the First Millennium*, ed. Michael Frassetto (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), pp. 63–71.
12. On al-Hākim and the destruction of the church of the Holy Sepulcher, Marius Canard, "La destruction de l'église de la Résurrection par le calife Hākim et l'histoire de la descente du feu sacré," *Byzantion* 35 (1965): 16–43.
13. Ademar, *Chronicon*, III, 47, p. 167. "Bethleemiticam ecclesiam, ubi Christus natus est, cum niterentur destruere, subito apparuit eis lux fulgurans, et omnis multitudo paganorum corruens exspiravit, et sic ecclesia Dei genitricis intacta remansit."
14. Ademar, *Chronicon*. "Et data preceptione, iussit reaedificari basilicam Sepulchri gloriosi."
15. Ademar, *Chronicon*. "Mox e vestigio super omnem terram Sarracenorum fames incanduit per tres annos, et innumerabilis eorum multitudo fame

mortua est, ita ut plateae et deserta cadaveribus replerentur, et fierent homines cibum et sepultura feris et avibus. Secuta est eos gladii vastitas. Nam gentes Arabiae super terram eorum diffuse sunt, et qui remanserant fame, gladiis interierunt. Captus est ab eis rex Babilonius, qui se contra Deum erexerat in superbiam, et vivus, ventro dissecto visceribusque extractis, impiam animam ad baratrum projecit. Venter ejus, lapidibus oppletus, consutus est, et cadaver, ligato plumbo ad collum, in mare demersum est." Book 4, chapter 63 of the *Chronicle of Fredegar*, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SRM 2 (Hannover, 1888), p. 152 relates a similar end to the Byzantine emperor Phocas in 610 after his capture by the supporters of Heraclius, "manibus et pedibus truncatis, lapidem ad collum legatum, in mare prociunt."

16. Glaber, *Historiarum*, III, vii, 24, pp. 134–5. "Sicque universi odio habiti."
17. Glaber, *Historiarum*, III, vii, 25, pp. 136–7. "Divina propitiante clementia, cepit mater ipsius principis, videlicet Ammirati Babilonis, mulier christianissima, nomine Maria, reedificare Christi templum, iusu eius filii eversum, politis et quadris lapidibus.... Tunc quoque de universo terrarum orbe incredibilis hominum multitudo, exultanter Iherosolimam pergentes, domui Dei restaurande plurima detulerunt munera."
18. A valuable work is Paul Ernest Walker, *Exploring an Islamic Empire: Fatimid History and Its Sources* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2002).
19. Canard, "Destruction de l'église," 16–43.
20. Robert Betts, *The Druze* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988), p. 4.
21. On a likely source of information for Ademar on Byzantine and Islamic development, see Robert L. Wolff, "How the News was brought from Byzantium to Angoulême; or, The Pursuit of a Hare in an Ox Cart," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 4 (1978): 139–89.
22. See the collection of pieces on heresy cited in n. 4.
23. For example, DS MS Lat. 1664, 75r. "Ideo cavete ab haereticis qui dicunt nihil prodesse communionem sancti altaris. Et sicut haec sancta abnegant, ita baptismum et crucem et ecclesiam abnegant, quia repleti sunt diabolo et nuntii sunt antichristi et seducere volunt oves Domini usque in damnationem aeternam sicut ipsi sunt damnati."
24. Entitled *Sermo ad Sinodum de Catholica Fide*, it is filled with attacks on the Saracens in the context of the history of salvation. A portion of this piece appears in Léopold Delisle, "Notice sur les manuscrits originaux d'Adémar de Chabannes," *Notices et extraits de la B.N.*, 25, 1 (1896): 257–65.
25. DS MS Lat. 1664, 83v.
26. On the Sabellians and Arians, DS MS Lat. 1664, esp. fols. 83v–85v.
27. DS MS Lat. 1664, fol. 85r. "Iudei autem et Sarraceni qui dicunt non se credere in sanctam Trinitatem sed in unum Deum, ideo nullum Deum credunt in sanctam Trinitatem non credunt." A long section on the Sabellian and the Arian heretics follows. On fol. 84v Ademar refers to

- an Arian heretic as a *vas diaboli* and then immediately goes on, “Et haeresei Sarracenorum postea tam fortiter crevit ut multi ex imperatoribus Arriani essent et usque in Hispaniam illud malum dogma extenderetur.”
28. DS MS Lat. 1664, fol. 91r.
 29. Still an excellent place to begin to understand the treatment of the Saracens in the Oxford *Roland* is Norman Daniel, *Heroes and Saracens: An Interpretation of the Chansons de Geste* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1984).
 30. This theme runs through the final folios of this piece. For example, DS MS Lat. 1664, fol. 95v. “Sicut Isaías ait, ‘Ipse infirmitates nostras accepit et aegrotationes portavit.’ (Matt. 8:17) Ad hoc enim homo factus est ut infirmitates nostras tolleretur.”
 31. DS MS Lat. 1664.
 32. DS MS Lat. 1664, fol. 96r. The piece concludes with the eternal judgment of Christ, including “Impiis dicturus est, ‘Discedite a me maledicti in ignem aeternum qui paratus est diabolo et angelis eius.’” (Matt. 25:41)
 33. See Penny J. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095–1270* (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1991).
 34. On the apocalyptic fears of Ademar, see my earlier writings and those of Richard Landes. On the prominence of apocalyptic images in the tenth and eleventh centuries, see the recent essays in *The Apocalyptic Year 1000: Religious Expectation and Social Change 950–1050*, ed. Richard Landes, Andrew Gow, and David C. Van Meter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003) and *The Year 1000: Religious and Social Response to the Turning of the First Millennium*, ed. Michael Frassetto (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002).
 35. On the continuing importance of the Last Emperor throughout the Middle Ages, see the selections in Bernard McGinn, *Visions of the End* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979). On the evolution of the idea of the World Emperor, particularly in the early Middle Ages, Paul J. Alexander, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985).
 36. Richard K. Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1981), particularly Ch. 3 “The Life and Deeds of Antichrist.” See also Jay Rubenstein’s chapter in this volume.
 37. Adso Dervensis, *De Ortu et Tempore Antichristi*, ed. D. Verhelst, CCCM 45 (Turnholt: Brepols, 1976), p. 26.
 38. Stephen Nichols has noted the great importance of Ademar’s writings for the development of this tradition. Stephen Nichols, Jr., *Romanesque Signs: Early Medieval Narrative and Iconography* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1983). See also the work of Matthew Gabriele, “*Imperator Christianorum: Charlemagne and the East, 814–1100*,” (Ph.D. Diss., History, University of California, Berkeley, 2005) for more recent studies on *Carolus Redivivus*.
 39. Ademar, *Chronicon*, II, pp. 74–111.
 40. Gaborit-Chopin, “Les dessins,” 217–218.

41. For an overview of the structure and history of Charlemagne's chapel, see Walter Maas, *Der Aachener Dom* (Cologne: Greven Verlag, 1984).
42. Ademar, *Chronicon*, II, 8, pp. 89–90.
43. *Annales regni Francorum 741–829*, ed. Friedrich Kurze, in *Fontes ad Historiam Regni Francorum Aevi Karolini Illustrandum*, vol. 1 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1955–60), p. 104. “Domnus Karolus imperator, dum Aquisgrani hiemaret, anno aetatis circiter septuagesimo primo, regni autem XLVII subactaeque Italiae XLIII, ex quo vero imperator et augustus appellatus est, anno XIII, V Kal. Feb. rebus humanis excessit.”
44. Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni*, 31, ed. Friedrich Kurze, in *Fontes ad Historiam Regni Francorum Aevi Karolini Illustrandum*, vol. 1 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1968), p. 202. “Corpus more sollemni lotum et curatum et maximo totius populi luctu ecclesiae inlatum atque humatum est. Dubitatum est primo, ubi reponi deberet, eo quod ipse vivus de hoc nihil praecepisset. Tandem omnium animis sedit nusquam eum honestius tumulari posse quam in ea basilica, quam ipse propter amorem Dei et domini nostri Jesu Christi et ob honorem sanctae et aeternae virginis, genetricis eius, proprio sumptu in eodem vico construxit. In hac sepultus est eadem die, qua defunctus est, arcusque supra tumulum deauratus cum imagine et titulo exstructus. Titulus ille hoc modo descriptus est: Sub hoc conditorio situm est corpus Karoli Magni atque orthodoxi imperatoris, qui regnum Francorum nobiliter ampliavit et per annos XLVII feliciter rexit. Decessit septuagenarius anno Domini DCCCXIII, indictione VII, Kal. Febr.”
45. Ademar, *Chronicon*, II, 25, p. 111. “Sepultus Aquis in basilica sanctae Dei Genitricis, quam ipse construxerat. Corpus ejus aromatizatum et in sede aurea sedens positus est in curvatura sepulchri, ense aureo accinctus et evangelium aureum tenens in manibus et genibus, reclinatis humeris in cathedra et capite honeste erecto, ligato aurea catena ad diadema. Et in diademate lignum sanctae crucis positum est. Et repleverunt sepulchrum ejus aromatibus, pigmentis et balsamo et musgo et thesauris multis in auro. Vestitum est corpus ejus indumentis imperialibus, et sudario sub diademate facies ejus operta est. (At this point, the C version has: ‘Cilicium ad carnem ejus positum est quod secreto semper induebatur, et super vestimentis imperialibus pera peregrinalis aurea posita est quam Romam portare solitus erat.’) Sceptrum aureum et scutum aureum quod Leo papa consecraverat, ante eum posita sunt dependentia, et clausum et sigillatum est sepulchrum ejus. Nemo autem referre potest quantus planctus et luctus pro eo fuerit per universam terram, etiam et inter paganos plangebatur quasi pater orbis. Maximus vero planctus inter Christianos fuit, et precipue per universum regnum ejus. Oleo sancto autem inunctus ab episcopis, et viatico sumpto et omnibus suis dispositis, commendans Deo spiritum suum, obiit in pace anno octingentesimo quarto decimo ab incarnatione Domini nostri Jhesu Christi, qui vivit et regnat solus Deus

in secula seculorum.” (Much of the wording in the last two sentences of this quotation can only be found in the C Version.)

46. Ademar, *Chronicon*, II, 15, p. 97.
47. Ademar, *Chronicon*, II, 15, p. 98. “Eodem die Zacarias cum duobus monachis, uno de monte Oliveti, altero de Sancto Saba, de oriente reversus, Romam venit, quos patriarcha ad regem misit. Qui benedictionis causa claves Sepulchri dominici ac loci Calvariae, claves etiam civitatis et montis Oliveti cum vexillo detulerunt. Quos rex benigne suscipiens, aliquot dies secum detinuit, et aprili mense remuneratos absolvit, celebravitque Natale Domini Romae.” In the list of gifts, Ademar changes the the *Annales regni’s montis* to *montis Oliveti*.
48. Einhard, *Vita*, ch. 16, vol. I, pp. 184 and 186. See also Ademar, *Chronicon*, II, 15, p. 99 for a mention of the positive relationship between Harun al-Rashid and Charlemagne.
49. For some of the many gifts of the True Cross attributed to Charlemagne, see A. Frolow, *La Relique de la Vraie Croix: Recherches sur le développement d’un culte* (Paris: Institut français d’études byzantines, 1961), pp. 198–215.
50. See Celia Chazelle, *The Crucified God in the Carolingian Era: Theology and Art of Christ’s Passion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
51. Ademar, *Chronicon*, III, 40, p. 161. “Denique hoc crucis lignum de cruce dominica extat quod Jherosolimorum patriarcha regi Magno Carolo direxerat, et idem imperator in eadem basilica, quam condidit Rotgerius comes Lemovicensis in honore Salvatoris, reposuit. Locus autem antiquo sermone Gallorum Carrofus vocitabatur propter carrorum confinia, idest veiculorum publicorum, et deinceps pro reverentia crucis Sanctum Carrofum appellari placuit.” For more on Charroux and Charlemagne, L.-A. Vigneras, “L’abbaye de Charroux et la légende du pèlerinage de Charlemagne,” *Romanic Review* 32 (1941): 121–8 and Gabriele, “Imperator Christianorum,” 160–72. Also of value on the subject is Amy Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past: Monastic Foundation Legends in Medieval Southern France* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995), pp. 77–81, 166–75.
52. Ademar, *Chronicon*, III, 40, pp. 160–1.
53. This material is central in my forthcoming book *The Making of a Millennial Pilgrim: Jerusalem and the Cross in the Life and Writings of Ademar of Chabannes*.
54. See above, n. 45. On Otto and the year 1000 see Matthew Gabriele, “Otto III, Charlemagne, and Pentecost A.D. 1000: A Reconsideration Using Diplomatic Evidence,” in *The Year 1000: Religious and Social Response to the Turning of the First Millennium*, ed. Michael Frassetto (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), pp. 111–32.
55. Ademar, *Chronicon*, III, 31, p. 153. “Quibus diebus Oto imperator per somnum monitus est ut levaret corpus Caroli Magni imperatoris, quod Aquis humatus erat; sed, vetustate obliterate, ignorabatur locus

certus ubi quiescebat. Et peracto triduo jejunio, inventus est eo loco quem per visum cognoverat imperator, sedens in aurea cathedra intra arcuatam speluncam infra basilicam Marie, coronatum corona ex auro et gemmis, tenens sceptrum et ense ex auro purissimo, et ipsum corpus incorruptum inventum est. Quod levatum populis demonstratum est.”

56. Ademar drew a picture of the tomb of Charlemagne for one of his copies of the *Chronicon*. On this illustration, Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, “Un dessin de l’église d’Aix-la-Chapelle par Adémar de Chabannes dans un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Vaticane,” *Cahiers archéologiques* 14 (1964): 233–5.
57. For the passage from the Pseudo-Methodius, see McGinn, *Visions*, 75.
58. See above, n. 36–7.
59. It is important to note that Adso moves the site of the battle with antichrist to the Mount of Olives in place of Calvary. This transfer of place permits the Antichrist to seek to ascend to heaven and be killed there in the action. See Emmerson, *Antichrist*, 44–5 and 101–102. On Jerome as the source of the tradition, which Adso followed, that the Antichrist will seek to ascend to heaven from the Mount of Olives and there meet his end, see Bernard McGinn, *Antichrist: Two Thousand Years of the Human Fascination with Evil* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), p. 75.
60. Daniel F. Callahan, “The Problem of the ‘Filioque’ and the Letter from the Pilgrim Monks of the Mount of Olives to Pope Leo III and Charlemagne: Is the Letter Another Forgery by Adémar of Chabannes?,” *Revue Bénédictine* 102 (1992): 75–134.
61. Callahan, “The Problem of the ‘Filioque.’” See appendix one for the letter. The monks from the Mount of Olives are defending themselves against charges that they “Franci, qui sunt in Monte Oliveti, haeretici sunt.”
62. See above, esp. n. 25–7.
63. D.S. MS Lat. 1664, fol. 33r. On other insertions by Ademar in this manuscript into commentaries by Bede, Daniel F. Callahan, “Ademar of Chabannes and His Insertions into Bede’s *Expositio Actuum Apostolorum*,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 111 (1993): 385–400.
64. On the signs in the heaven, Ademar reported that there was in 1033 a darkening of the sun in which some claimed to see a human head. See Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. lat. 1332, fol. 43v. For this, see Giulio d’Onofrio, *Excerpta isagogarum et categoriarum*, CCCM 120 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1995), esp. pp. XLVIII–LVI, LXXXVI–XCIV.
65. For Ademar’s pilgrimage to Jerusalem, Daniel F. Callahan, “Ademar of Chabannes, Charlemagne and the Pilgrimage to Jerusalem of 1033” in *Medieval Monks and Their World, Ideas and Realities: Studies in Honor of Richard Sullivan*, ed. David Blanks, Michael Frassetto, and Amy Livingstone (Leiden: Brill, 2006), pp. 71–80.

66. On the “crusade” of Pope Sergius IV, see Hans Martin Schaller, “Zur Kreuzzugszyklika Papst Sergius IV,” in *Papsttum, Kirche, und Recht im Mittelalter: Festschrift für Horst Fuhrmann zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Hubert Mordek (Tübingen: M. Niemeyer, 1991), pp. 135–52.
67. See above, n. 29. See also the dissertation of Matthew Gabriele cited in n. 38.

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CHAPTER 4

GODFREY OF BOUILLON VERSUS RAYMOND OF SAINT-GILLES: HOW CAROLINGIAN KINGSHIP TRUMPED MILLENARIANISM AT THE END OF THE FIRST CRUSADE

Jay Rubenstein

Pope Urban II, in his call to crusade as imagined by Robert the Monk, urges the Franks to remember Charlemagne and hold him up as a model.¹ But one of the points that attracted Robert and other writers to the crusade story was the absence of a royal figure. In the words of Guibert of Nogent, the Franks moved “without a lord, without a prince, with God alone to incite them.”² Another monastic historian, Baudry of Dol, has Urban II proclaim the Franks will have Jesus alone for a leader. Their journey, he adds, has been prefigured. Just as John the Baptist came before Christ, so the Children of Israel crossed the Red Sea and came to the Promised Land before the Franks.³ The image of crossing the Red Sea was one of Robert’s favorite images too. Bohemond, he writes, told his army that just as God had led the Children of Israel through the Red Sea so he would lead them to places of pilgrimage.⁴ After the battle of Dorylaeum, the Franks burst into the same song that the Israelites sang upon their escape at the Red Sea.⁵ Yet, another twelfth-century writer, Ralph of Caen, compares the breach of Jerusalem’s walls to the movement of the Israelites through those same waters.⁶ In some ways, this typology actually subverts a Carolingian theme. While ninth-century Franks were the new Chosen People because their king was the new David,⁷ the eleventh-century Franks were the new Chosen People because they had no king, only God.

This acephalous arrangement, fine in the abstract, led to one of the crusade's greatest ideological crises: at the time of Jerusalem's conquest in 1099, who would rule the city? The details of the drama are well-known.⁸ The most prominent leaders, Godfrey of Bouillon and Raymond of Saint-Gilles vied for authority in the days immediately preceding and following Jerusalem's capture. The barons first offered the title to Raymond, who refused, because "he felt a horror at the very name of 'king' in that city."⁹ The barons then turned to Godfrey, who accepted the responsibilities of rule but not, according to most traditions, an actual crown. Our ecclesiastical writers tell us that he made this decision out of reverence for Christ, in language that echoes a conclusion reached earlier by the army's clerical leadership, according to Raymond d'Aguilers: "one ought not to elect there a king where the Lord suffered and was crowned."¹⁰ Guibert of Nogent formulates the idea with precision. Godfrey's humility was such, he says, that even monks might learn from him. For "he never in the city of Jerusalem bore the crown of kings, out of reverence for Jesus Christ, the author of our salvation, who wore there because of human mockery a thorny crown."¹¹ The thesis about Godfrey's humility became enshrined as canonical in the chronicle of William of Tyre, and it remains still the popularly accepted interpretation.¹²

My purpose here is to reexamine these events with an eye toward underlying eschatological and Carolingian ideals. My premise is that by 1099 both Godfrey and Raymond enjoyed roughly equivalent financial advantages and comparable levels of prestige. Setting aside Godfrey's posthumous reputation for humility, both men felt comparable ambitions to become king. In terms of money, Raymond was perhaps the wealthiest of the barons, and he enjoyed the further prestige of having been the first one to accept Urban's II's call to Jerusalem.¹³ Albert of Aachen attributes to Raymond a sense of cunning and a knack for smooth talk with which he had been "imbued since boyhood."¹⁴ Godfrey, on the other hand, was not as wealthy as Raymond. Albert comments on how the duke, like a common soldier, lacked water and supplies during the siege at Antioch and in fact had to beg for a horse from Count Raymond on the day of the battle.¹⁵ But Godfrey was able to profit from having a brother as prince of Edessa, thus enabling him to act as patron to much of the army during the journey's final stages.¹⁶ Questions of personality and political acumen no doubt played an important part in the outcome of this quarrel. The smooth-talking Raymond may have been less popular among the soldiers than the plainspoken Godfrey, whose most notable achievement during the crusade was to cut a Saracen clean in two at the gates of Antioch.¹⁷

But also important was a fundamental difference in interpretation of the crusade itself. Both Godfrey and Raymond—or perhaps Godfrey's

and Raymond's advisors—saw Jerusalem in terms of two eschatologies. For Godfrey, the legend of the Last Emperor, as portrayed in the theology of Adso of Montier-en-Der, played a crucial part in shaping the ways in which he set about taking control of Jerusalem.¹⁸ Raymond, on the other hand, appears to have accepted, or to have had forced upon him, a more millenarian perspective, the kind of apocalyptic attitude described generally by Norman Cohn and specifically in connection with the crusade by Paul Alphandéry and Alphonse Dupront.¹⁹ Though these factors should not displace altogether the questions of power and personality that have dominated discussion of these events, they also cannot be ignored. Problems of kingship in the Middle Ages would inevitably have raised questions about the natural and supernatural ordering of the world.²⁰ Problems of kingship in Jerusalem, the center of the earth, where David had taught the Western world the rituals and theories essential to authority, would have been doubly charged.²¹ The struggle between Godfrey and Raymond, therefore, was not just a political conflict between two barons. It was a struggle over what exactly it meant to establish in Jerusalem a Christian kingdom that replaced and fulfilled the Jewish kingdom of David, just as the Franks themselves had reenacted and surpassed the original wanderings and conquests of the Israelites. Ultimately, the vision embraced by Godfrey more successfully synthesized practical realities with dreamy ideologies in a way that assured his claim to the city.

This eschatological conflict has gone underappreciated in crusade historiography in no small part because of the firmly ingrained tradition of Godfrey's humility and his refusal of the title of king. A quick perusal of the sources readily confirms that there was some discomfort in Jerusalem—less so in Western Europe—with the revival and Christianization of the kingdom of Jerusalem. It is also apparent that the details of how the barons resolved this conflict are far less certain than we usually presume. Consider, for example, the most basic point about this struggle: that Godfrey, instead of calling himself "king," adopted the title, "Advocate of the Holy Sepulchre." Jonathan Riley-Smith has pointed out how uncertain and unsettled this office was.²² The clearest evidence of his adoption of the title *advocatus* is a letter written on behalf of Godfrey, Raymond, and Daimbert, Archbishop of Pisa and future Patriarch of Jerusalem. Raymond d'Aguilers himself probably composed it, without Godfrey's input or authorization.²³ The same Raymond in his chronicle introduces the term "advocate" into the debate about who ought to rule Jerusalem. Rather than a king, some of the clerics argue, "there might be someone to act as an 'advocate,' who could guard the city and distribute the tributes and rents from the territory amongst the city's protectors."²⁴ When Raymond describes the actual day of the election, 22 July 1099, he

has the princes use similar language, only in connection with a king: "someone might be elected as king, who could bear the cares of all, and collect tributes from the area."²⁵ The barons then, in Raymond's narration, chose Godfrey and presented him at the Holy Sepulchre, but nowhere in this scene does the word "advocate" appear.²⁶ In his chronicle, in fact, Raymond never combines the words into a single office: "Advocate of the Holy Sepulchre." He continues, after the election, to call Godfrey "duke" rather than "king," but he has given his readers no reason to think that the barons did not give Godfrey the latter title. If Raymond calls him duke, it seems likely because he disapproved of the procedure, not because he felt confusion at the office.

The evidence for Godfrey as advocate, therefore, is slight. It probably owes its general acceptance today to habit, born of Sir Steven Runciman's decision to call the relevant chapter of his crusade history, "*Advocatus Sancti Sepulchri*."²⁷ Recent scholarship, however, has stoutly defended the office, generally through an appeal to European precedents. John France has suggested that the movement to elect Godfrey as king came from the "secularists" within the crusading army. Their ambitions were checked by a clerical party, who assigned Godfrey a role akin to the Western European office of church defender or church advocate. The clerical party attained a near triumph over the secularists when Patriarch Daimbert exacted an oath of homage from Godfrey, which may have even included a promise that Godfrey cede Jerusalem altogether.²⁸ Alan V. Murray has shown that William of Tyre, our source for this oath, is unreliable here though,²⁹ and Murray suggests a middle road between royalty and abject humility. Godfrey, he says, acted as both *princeps* and *advocatus* of Jerusalem, but not king.³⁰ The ambiguity of his office grows out of two points: Jerusalem was in fact a *regnum* established in the Old Testament, and titles such as advocate or defender could also have imperial connotations, implying a duty to defend the church and to expand his kingdom's borders.³¹ Working within these premises but taking eschatology into account, Luc Ferrier has argued that Godfrey had no choice but to adopt a guise of royal humiliation. Under popularly accepted prophecy, the King of Jerusalem could be either the Last Emperor or antichrist. The sure sign of antichrist was pride, making humility the safest ideological pose.³²

From any ideological perspective, however, Godfrey was hardly the obvious candidate to become Jerusalem's king, and by extension the soldier most ready to defend papal priorities in the Holy Land. He himself had fought alongside Henry IV against Gregory VII, a point of pride for Albert of Aachen, Godfrey's most outspoken supporter.³³ The papally sanctioned Raymond of Saint-Gilles would have been the more obvious

choice as humble advocate, especially since his chaplain was one of the concept's inventors.

Whatever the case, humility before ecclesiastical hierarchy does not fit well with Godfrey's character. Nor is it easily reconcilable with contemporary interpretations of his achievement. Guibert of Nogent, for one, announces his belief that Godfrey's descendants would one day rule all Christians, a notion with more than a hint of an imperial dream underlying it.³⁴ The idea here of a Frankish emperor in Jerusalem owes much to the previously mentioned Adso of Montier-en-Der, whose thought enjoyed wide circulation at the time of the crusade. According to Adso, Antichrist would not appear as long as the final incarnation of the Roman Empire—the feet of iron and clay described in the prophetic vision of Daniel—survived with the Franks. Matthew Gabriele has demonstrated the ways in which this belief in the imminent appearance of a Last Frankish Emperor had become intertwined with the Charlemagne legend in the era of the First Crusade.³⁵ Such an array of associations—Charlemagne, Jerusalem, Last Emperor—gives some coherence to Ekkehard of Aura's observation that in 1095, the year Urban II and Peter the Hermit both preached the crusade: “according to the prophecy of the good shepherd, the chosen were led into error. A fable was invented that Charlemagne had risen up from the dead as if for this purpose.”³⁶ Talk of an imperial Jerusalem had been in the air for a while, at least since the Investiture Contest, when Benzo of Alba urged Emperor Henry IV to heed the Sibylline prophecy: defeat Rome and then head to the East, where he might be crowned anew, first in Constantinople and then in Jerusalem.³⁷

The question of a Christian king or emperor of Jerusalem thus had ideological implications well beyond the need to respect the memory of the passion or the danger of golden crown dishonoring a thorny one. Specifically, according to the Adsonian model, the most popular of the prophecies in circulation at the time of the crusade, the Last Emperor would lay down his crown on the Mount of Olives, the place of Christ's ascension and scene of many key moments in the upcoming apocalyptic drama.³⁸ Some of these points surely must have been on the mind of the Norman warrior Tancred when, on arriving at Jerusalem, he broke off from the main army and headed up alone to the Mount.³⁹ There he met a hermit whose prophecies would shape the conduct of the army during the siege. The hermit initially expressed surprise at meeting Tancred alone, but on learning who he was, greeted him as if a figure of prophecy: “I will no longer wonder if you do marvelous things. Indeed, I would wonder if you did not do marvelous things: it is not natural that one born of such a family should trudge along the common path of man. But beware! Beware, the enemy!”⁴⁰ Later, Tancred would recollect that,

during the conquest of Jerusalem, he charged into the Dome of the Rock and challenged to fight both the First Antichrist, Muhammed, as well as that Antichrist still to come.⁴¹ As the armies closed in on Jerusalem, prophetic dreams and apocalyptic struggles danced through the imagination of at least one of the leaders.

But did Godfrey see himself in a similar role? We cannot be certain of his thoughts, but he did have the right qualifications. He styled himself a descendant of Charlemagne, his family claiming to be the closest living relatives of that greatest Frankish king.⁴² Albert of Aachen phrases it more grandly—putting words into the mouth of Godfrey's brother Baldwin, who argues for a line of descent from Augustus—"the duke of a great kingdom and from the first emperor of the Romans Augustus, by hereditary right of his noble ancestors."⁴³ Godfrey could double his claims to legitimacy, since the Byzantine Emperor Alexius, impressed by Godfrey's demeanor and his strange western clothing, had adopted him as a son.⁴⁴ As far as we know, Godfrey did not press the point, but his brother Baldwin did use a similar adoption ceremony as justification to make himself prince of Edessa, thus creating the first of the crusader states.⁴⁵ By blood and by adoption, Godfrey could associate himself with both the Western and the Eastern imperial offices.

His status received further confirmation from a series of visions, as related by Albert of Aachen. Alphandéry and Dupront suggest that these stories were probably retrospective inventions, made after Godfrey had become king.⁴⁶ But it is not necessary to see them as such. One could imagine a scene comparable to the one Raymond d'Aguilers describes during the trial of Peter Bartholomew over the validity of the Holy Lance of Antioch, when one-by-one visionaries from the army stepped forward to provide celestial evidence in support of the holy relic and of its controversial advocate.⁴⁷ Albert thus marshals for his readers all possible evidence to explain the rise of an "ordinary" Lotharingian duke to such astonishing heights.

The first of Godfrey's visionaries, Hezelo, a knight and hunting partner, ten years before the march to Jerusalem, saw in a vision the duke standing atop Mount Sinai, a new Moses, and *dux et praeceptor* of the Christian people—surely an imperial office by its jurisdiction. Two unnamed men in ecclesiastical garb rushed forward to Godfrey, perhaps the two prophets foretold in the Apocalypse, praying that he might find blessing and grace in the eyes of God, just as Moses had once done.⁴⁸ Another precrusade vision saw Godfrey ascend a ladder to heaven. Albert helpfully interprets the dream: the ladder is the crusader's path, and heaven, predictably, is Jerusalem.⁴⁹ Finally, during the expedition itself, a cleric saw Godfrey seated upon the sun, surrounded by innumerable

birds, who suddenly took flight, obscuring the duke's image. Like heaven, the sun symbolizes Jerusalem, which "surpasses in name and sanctity all the cities of the world, just as the sun by its brightness surpasses all the stars of heaven." To sit upon the sun is to sit "on the throne of the kingdom of Jerusalem." The birds symbolize the army, some of whom stayed in the Holy Land out of love for their leader, many of whom returned home on his death.⁵⁰ It is, moreover, a vision with apocalyptic overtones, since the narrator of the Book of Revelation sees an angel standing atop the sun surrounded by birds that will feast upon the flesh of kings.⁵¹ Whether these visions really occurred in advance of Godfrey's election is irrelevant. What concerns us instead is that Godfrey's claim to Jerusalem—whether he called himself advocate or duke, king or emperor—depended in part on a series of visions with barely disguised imperial and apocalyptic implications.

To these stories one might add the visions later attributed to Godfrey's mother, the saintly widow Ida of Boulogne. In the hagiographic treatment of her life, we read that, as a young woman, she had a dream of the sun appearing to descend from heaven to settle in her lap. It was, her biographer explains, a sign of the auspicious lives prepared for her children, including Godfrey, "predestined to be the first King of Jerusalem by a new dispensation."⁵² Guibert of Nogent tells a similar story, but attempts to remove any hint of the supernatural, saying that Ida liked to recall how Godfrey as a child desired to lead an armed pilgrimage to Jerusalem—thereby, inadvertently, attributing to the duke rather than to Pope Urban the whole idea of the crusade.⁵³ William of Tyre similarly has Ida prophesying the fates of each of her children, including Godfrey as the first ruler, though not king, of Jerusalem.⁵⁴ In the most imaginative and unusual version of this story, Ida actually sees in a dream a crucifix paying homage to her womb, pregnant with Jerusalem's future leader.⁵⁵ This last bit of hagiography is preserved, ironically, as an anonymous continuation of the chronicle of Raymond d'Aguilers, the spokesperson for Godfrey's chief rival at Jerusalem.⁵⁶ All of this imagery—to stand on Mount Sinai, to climb a ladder to heaven, to sit atop the sun surrounded by birds like an angel from the apocalypse, to be a figure of prophecy from one's childhood, to receive adoration from no less a lord than Christ—contains royal, if not imperial implications.

Of course, if Godfrey was the Last Emperor, contemporaries might have asked, why didn't the world end? It is the obvious question, but for more than twenty years, some observers were not entirely sure that the world had not, in fact, ended. At the very least, history had changed in some profound way. Lambert of St. Omer, in a diagram in the encyclopedic *Liber floridus*, noted cautiously that the sixth and final age of human

history contained 1,099 years before Godfrey captured Jerusalem.⁵⁷ It is not exactly a proclamation that history had ended, but the placement of the chart is revealing. On the preceding folio, Lambert had already described the six ages of history, the last four being characterized by the creation of new empires: the Assyrian, the Median, the Persian, and the Roman.⁵⁸ In other words, each age ends as a new kingdom begins, and Lambert completes his summary of events in the sixth age, the final age before Christ's return, with the establishment of a monarch in Jerusalem and thus a sudden reversal of human history's westward movement. Lambert does not in fact commit himself to a specific date for the end of the sixth age and the advent of the seventh. A different hand writing in different ink has scrawled at the top of the diagram a warning about the dangers of calculating apocalyptic time with too much precision.⁵⁹ Lambert thus allows himself, as it were, eschatological wiggle room. At the very least, he gives a strong indication that fundamental ruptures were happening in 1099 and that those changes centered around the career of Godfrey of Bouillon, whom Lambert did not hesitate to call "king." He titles his chart: "The Six Ages of the World Until King Godfrey."⁶⁰

Count Raymond of Saint-Gilles made no attempt at the creation of such an imperial persona. His was a different sort of eschatology, much of it accessible through the chronicle written by his chaplain Raymond d'Aguilers.⁶¹ Raymond began his book with a coauthor, a knight named Pons of Balazun, who died during the latter stages of the campaign at the siege of Arqa.⁶² Before Pons's death, Raymond's narrative is a largely traditional military account centered around the Provençal army and punctuated by the occasional miracle or vision. Without Pons, it becomes something else altogether: a dreamlike intermingling of the living and the dead, with the poor assuming an increasingly prominent role. This transformation no doubt reflects the chronicler Raymond's own growing sense of identity with the unarmed pilgrims and with the visionaries among them. Raymond himself, after all, was one of the workers digging alongside Peter Bartholomew, to whom St. Andrew had revealed the location of the Holy Lance of Antioch.⁶³ When Bishop Adhémar of Puy ordered the Lance carried into battle outside the walls of that city, Raymond bore it. Thanks to the Lance, Raymond d'Aguilers notes in earnest, no Christian was injured.⁶⁴ Because the Lance had initially come to Count Raymond's attention, and because of its association with Adhémar, it became essentially a Provençal relic, and its otherworldly character no doubt played a part in Raymond's claims to some kind of larger authority.⁶⁵

Count Raymond's status also became closely dependant upon—as Raymond the author tells it—the poor, who formed a massive unarmed

contingent within the main army. Robert the Monk, for one, wishes that these people had all just stayed at home, or at least he has Urban II order them to do so, since they are militarily useless.⁶⁶ For Fulcher of Chartres, even worse, the poor are greedy scavengers, the first to desert when times are hard and the first to cut open the innards of Saracens to search for swallowed gold coins.⁶⁷ On a more positive note, all the writers mention that the army's leaders took responsibility for charitable donations to those in need. The *Gesta Francorum*, in its description of Adhémar of Puy's funeral, recalls a sermon where the bishop had exhorted the army to look after its poor if it hoped to succeed in battle.⁶⁸ Guibert of Nogent describes groups of orphaned children, who formed themselves into divisions that paralleled those of the main army, and notes that each of the leaders took responsibility for "his" orphans.⁶⁹ No writer, however, matches Raymond's empathy for these indigent pilgrims. He notices, among other things, how the poor who guarded the horses and oxen were especially subject to Turkish ambush, as were the hungry forced to scavenge around Antioch for plants to eat.⁷⁰ Similarly, he worries about the poor pilgrims who make up the rearguard of the army and hence have no protection against the Turks.⁷¹ He criticizes Count Raymond sharply for not sharing with the needy the tribute he had received from Tripoli.⁷² And he takes note of the sick and the weak at Jerusalem who cannot make the dangerous journey to a water supply, but instead hold out cupped hands begging from the knights a splash of moisture.⁷³

These poor are not just mascots for Raymond d'Aguilers or a narrative device to remind readers of their Christian duties. They instead actively shape policy. When Count Raymond became obsessed with taking control of Ma'arra, rather than advancing the march toward Jerusalem, it was the poor who burned the city's walls and forced him to abandon it. It was, Raymond says, a divinely sanctioned mutiny.⁷⁴ Peter Bartholomew, who discovered the Lance, had himself been a beggar within the camp, until his visions propelled him to fame. God loves the poor better than the rich, St. Andrew told Peter, not without some irony, just as gold is better than silver.⁷⁵ Peter Bartholomew, as the living symbol of the Holy Lance, as the regular companion to chaplain and historian Raymond d'Aguilers, and as a frequent motivational preacher to the army, had become a central figure in the campaign after Antioch. And Peter's most defining characteristics were that he was poor and almost illiterate. Remembering a basic Christian paradox, that in humility lies power, it was through these weaknesses that Peter gained his authority.

Peter Bartholomew was thus not just a Provençal spokesman and the Lance not just a Provençal relic. He and it instead became synonymous with lessons about the place and power of poverty; and because Raymond

of Saint-Gilles—ironically the wealthiest of the leaders—so actively promoted the Lance and its discoverer, these same messages became central to the count's own claims to leadership. The dangers of this position, and the unraveling of whatever claims Raymond might have had on the throne of Jerusalem, became apparent in the reaction to Peter's final vision. For as the army closed in on Jerusalem, Peter, not unlike other revolutionary thinkers, came to meditate upon Christ's wounds.⁷⁶ In this vision, Jesus on the Cross ordered him to divide the army into five groups, one for each wound, based on who was most willing to fight and die for him.⁷⁷ Those of the first rank feared no weapons: they would enter Jerusalem just as Christ had (implying that they were, in fact, the unarmed, which is to say, the poor pilgrims). Those of the second two ranks existed to fight for and to provision the first. The last two groups were composed largely of traitors—men who tended to their own affairs, who probably had traveled to Jerusalem for wealth alone, and who likely had started out with wealth, too. When asked what the army ought to do with these false soldiers, Christ responds, "Kill them, for my traitors are brothers of Judas Iscariot."⁷⁸

What is most striking about this vision is its final element, where Christ instructs Peter Bartholomew to establish a new judicial system within the army to resolve disputes peacefully.⁷⁹ Peter has moved from encouraging and criticizing soldiers to calling for the creation of new social and legal organizations. Perhaps recognizing the magnitude of this step, he asked his Lord to restore his ability to read, which he seems to have lost during the journey. Christ assured him that he was already wise enough: "Go and proclaim what you know. And let what you know suffice."⁸⁰ In so saying, Christ, and presumably Raymond and probably Peter, too, confirmed that illiteracy was not an impediment to his authority but was rather its basis. Others, including the chaplain Arnulf of Normandy, refused to believe that Christ would pass over bishops and princes for an ignorant rustic and therefore attacked both Peter and his Lance.⁸¹

The Christological character of this vision, the establishment of social orders based not on wealth, or at least on not having wealth, and the creation of a court system all suggest that Peter Bartholomew has moved from the realm of eccentric relic huckster to something more substantial: he sees the crusade as an exercise in social reform, fostered and confirmed by continual victories from Christ. It is, specifically, a millenarian vision, an ideal that seeks to promote the poor and erase social distinctions. It very likely saw the 1,000-year period of peace from the twentieth chapter of the Apocalypse as being not the historical time of the church, but a time yet to come, a time when a Christ-like ruler would appear in Jerusalem, his arrival preceded by great signs, among them the conversion of

unbelievers,⁸² and this ruler will begin his 1,000-year reign by liberating the poor from their agonies. It is not a particularly Carolingian figure, this millenarian ruler. Protection of the poor played a part in the Carolingian ideal of kingship,⁸³ but one would not imagine Charlemagne returning from the dead because of it. The person in whom Raymond d'Aguilers invested these hopes, and in whom Peter Bartholomew did as well, was Count Raymond of Saint-Gilles. It is not a vision that would readily win the support of aristocratic warriors, and it is no surprise that after this call to millenarian arms that the Norman and Lotharingian contingents demanded that Peter undergo an ordeal by fire. His eventual death thus checked a dangerous confluence of Provençal ambition and of subversive social thought.⁸⁴

What is remarkable is that Count Raymond, despite all of the obvious dangers and drawbacks, attempted to follow Peter's millenarian advice, even after his death, and occasionally accepted the will of the poor more generally. Raymond did abandon the city of Ma'arra. He also rejected an earthly crown at Jerusalem (that his later career indicates he desperately wanted). And after his failure at Jerusalem, he marched to the River Jordan, carrying out a baptismal ceremony that the long dead Peter Bartholomew had enjoined upon him.⁸⁵ From a practical perspective, these actions are senseless when attributed to a man who wished to become leader of the armies and to leave a lasting mark on the Holy Land. They become comprehensible only if we accept that Raymond had invested his prestige and symbolic capital into an eschatological vision starkly different from the resurrected Carolingian warlord whom Godfrey of Bouillon aspired to be. What we see in these final stages of the crusade are not just two princes competing for power, but two baronial, political animals struggling for ascendancy and two rather contradictory views of what it meant to rule Jerusalem.

While Raymond was busily seeking fame at the River Jordan, Godfrey was solidifying his claims to Christ's kingdom through the discovery of another relic of the Passion, the True Cross. According to Albert of Aachen, Godfrey called upon Peter the Hermit to bring the cross from Jerusalem to the Battle of Ascalon—though most other writers describe Godfrey as leaving Peter behind at the city, where he led the people in liturgical and penitential processions.⁸⁶ Regardless, Godfrey had integrated into his service a relic to eclipse the Holy Lance as well as a visionary whose renown easily overshadowed the late Peter Bartholomew's. Combined with his Carolingian ancestry, the imperial and celestial visions associated with his name, the royal diadem that by its very absence associated him with Christ, and the expectation that he, or perhaps one of his heirs, was to be the Last Emperor, we can see that Godfrey—beyond financial

resources, patronage, and military skill—made use of Jerusalem’s eschatological associations to assert his authority over the crusading army and over the kingdom of Jerusalem. Whereas the apocalypticism of Raymond’s followers seems to have looked forward to a 1,000 year reign of peace and righteousness, Godfrey’s demanded an ever-vigilant military guard against a demonic enemy. His heirs, who were not required to live with the pressures of being the first rulers to revive and Christianize Old Testament kingship, could settle more securely into their royal office. Godfrey himself never did wear a crown, but this hesitation ought not surprise us. As a likely candidate to be the Last Emperor, the expectations and anxieties of his reign focused not on what might happen if he put this crown on, but what would come to pass if he ever removed it.

Notes

1. Robert the Monk, *Historia Hierosolimitana* 1.1, RHC Occ. 3:728. The research for this paper occurred with the support of a 2002–3 ACLS fellowship in Paris and an ACLS Burkhardt fellowship in Rome in 2006–7. In between, a version of this chapter was presented at the Sewanee Medieval Colloquium. Thanks to all of the conference participants, particularly to Susan Ridyard, Thomas Burman, Robert Chazan, and Brett Whalen. Thanks as well to Meghan Holmes Worth and Matthew Gabriele, who have read and discussed earlier drafts of this article. For citations of crusade material, I have indicated appropriate book, chapter, and page numbers, except with Fulcher of Chartres, whom I have referenced by book, chapter, and sentence number.
2. “sine domino, sine principe, solo videlicet deo impulsore”; Guibert of Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos* 1.1, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, CCCM 127A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), p. 86.
3. Baudry of Dol, *Historia Hierosolymitana* 1.4, RHC Occ. 4:14.
4. Robert, *Historia* 2.16, p. 747; see also 6.12, p. 812.
5. Robert, *Historia* 3.14, p. 763, reference to Ex. 15:6–9, 13.
6. Specifically, when an attempt to break through the walls fails, God hears the Christians just as he once heard the Israelites at the Red Sea: Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi* 125, RHC Occ. 3:693.
7. See the excellent Mary Garrison, “The Franks as the New Israel? Education for an Identity from Pippin to Charlemagne,” in *Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Yitzhak Hen and Matthew Innes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 114–61.
8. The First Crusade inspired many modern, readable narrative histories. On the coronation controversy: Thomas Asbridge, *The First Crusade: A New History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 321–2; Hans Eberhard Mayer, *The Crusades*, trans. John Gillingham (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 56–7.

9. "nomen regium se perorrescere... in illa civitate"; Raymond d'Aguilers, *Liber*, ed. John H. and Laurita L. Hill, trans. Philippe Wolff (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1969), p. 152.
10. "non debere ibi eligere regem ubi Dominus passus et coronatus est"; Raymond, *Liber*, 143.
11. "numquam intra Iherosolimitanam civitatem regium coronatus didema tulerit, ea consideratione videlicet, quia generalis universorum salutis auctor dominus noster Iesus Christus spineum ibidem sertum humana irrisione gestaverit"; Guibert, *Dei gesta*, 7, 25, 318. Similar ideas in *Historia peregrinorum euntium Ierusalymam ad liberandum sanctum sepulcrum de potestate ethnicorum*, also known as *Historia belli sacri* 130, RHC Occ. 3:225; and *Narratio Floriacensis de captis Antiochia et Hierosolyma et obsesso Dyrrachio* 10, RHC Occ. 5:360.
12. See William of Tyre, *Chronicon* 9.9, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, CCCM 63 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986), p. 431.
13. John Hill and Laurita L. Hill, *Raymond IV Count of Toulouse* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1962), for an overview of Raymond's career. According to Baudry of Dol, Raymond had in fact taken the cross even before Urban II preached his famous sermon at Clermont: *Historia* 1, 5, 16.
14. "a puerili aevo erat imbutus"; Albert of Aachen, *Historia Hierosolymitana* 5.35, RHC Occ. 4:455.
15. Albert, *Historia*, 4.55, pp. 427–8.
16. Alan V. Murray, "The Army of Godfrey of Bouillon, 1096–1099: Structure and Dynamics of a Contingent on the First Crusade," *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'histoire* 70 (1992): 301–29.
17. This event became one of the crusade's more popular set-pieces. For example, Baudry, *Historia*, 2.17, pp. 50–1; Guibert, *Dei gesta*, 7.11, p. 284.
18. Luc Ferrier, "La Couronne Refusée de Godefroy de Bouillon: Eschatologie et Humiliation de la Majesté aux premiers temps du Royaume latin de Jérusalem," in *Le Concile de Clermont de 1095 et l'appel à la Croisade* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1997), pp. 245–65. On the development of the Last Emperor legend, Hannes Möhring, *Der Weltkaiser der Endzeit: Entstehung, Wandel und Wirkung einer tausendjährigen Weissagung* (Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2000).
19. Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970) and Paul Alphandéry and Alphonse Dupront, *La Chrétienté et l'idée de Croisade* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1954–9), esp. pp. 119–35. The most recent exponent of crusade apocalypticism is Jean Flori, *Pierre l'Ermite et la Première Croisade* (Paris: Fayard, 1999).
20. The classic examination remains Ernst K. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1957); on the specific problem of Davidic kingship in the Carolingian world, pp. 77–83.

21. On the symbolic meanings of Jerusalem at the time of the crusade, see the recently published Sylvia Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City: Crusader Jerusalem and the Catholic West (1099–1187)* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005), esp. pp. 35–48 and 141–57.
22. Jonathan Riley-Smith, “The Title of Godfrey de Bouillon,” *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 52 (1979): 83–6.
23. Letter #18 in *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088–1100*, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1901), pp. 167–74. Specifically in the preamble, Godfrey is described as “gratia Dei ecclesiae S. Sepulcri nunc advocatus”; p. 168. See John France’s analysis of the letter’s composition: “The Election and Title of Godfrey de Bouillon,” *Canadian Journal of History* 18 (1983): 321–9, at 326–7; as well as Alan V. Murray, “The Title of Godfrey of Bouillon as Ruler of Jerusalem,” *Collegium Mediaevale* 3 (1990): 163–78, at 163–4.
24. “Sed esset aliquis advocatus qui civitatem custodiret, et custodibus civitatis tributa regionis divideret, et redditus”; Raymond, *Liber*, 143.
25. “aliquis eligeretur in regem, qui omnium curam gerens, et tributa regionis colligeret”; Raymond, *Liber*, 152.
26. Raymond, *Liber*, 152. John France suggests that this act of carrying Godfrey to the Sepulcher might be comparable to ceremonies in Germany where a lord would swear on an altar to make himself the protector or advocate of a church and its saints, reminding us that Godfrey was himself an advocate in Lorraine: France, “The Election and Title,” 327. The connections, however, are somewhat tenuous, and given Raymond’s earlier apparent preference for the title “Advocate” as stated earlier, it is odd that he would not mention the office here, leaving readers to presume that the princes have carried on with their plan to elect a king.
27. Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957), pp. 289–314.
28. France, “Election and Title.”
29. Alan V. Murray, “Daimbert of Pisa, the *Domus Godefridi* and the Accession of Baldwin I of Jerusalem,” in *From Clermont to Jerusalem: The Crusades and Crusader Societies 1095–1500*, ed. Alan V. Murray (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), pp. 81–102.
30. Murray, “Title of Godfrey,” esp. 169–71. See also Ferrier, “La Couronne refusée,” 253.
31. Murray, “Title of Godfrey,” 173–4. The argument on behalf of the validity of the title *advocatus*—based partly on its mention by Laurence of Liège in the 1140s, as Murray argues on 170—still strikes me as doubtful; Laurence could have easily learned of the title from either Raymond’s *Liber* or from the letter of Daimbert.
32. Ferrier, “La Couronne refusée,” 258–9 and 265.
33. Albert recalls Godfrey’s politics when he has Godfrey remember fighting with Henry IV outside Rome; Albert, *Historia*, 5.13, pp. 440–1.
34. Guibert, *Dei gesta*, 7.14, pp. 289–90.

35. Matthew Gabriele, "Imperator Christianorum: Charlemagne and the East, 814–1100," (Ph.D. Diss., History, University of California, Berkeley, 2005). On Adso and Carolingian kingship, see also Daniel Verhelst, "La préhistoire des conceptions d'Adson concernant l'Antichrist," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 40 (1973): 52–103; Robert Konrad, *De ortu et tempore Antichristi: Antichristvorstellung und Geschichtsbild des Abtes Adso von Montier-en-Der* (Kallmünz: Lassleben, 1964), pp. 98–9.
36. "juxta boni Pastoris vaticinium etiam electi in errorem ducerentur. Inde fabulosum illud confictum est de Karolo Magno quasi de mortuis in id ipsum resuscitato"; Ekkhard of Aura, *Hierosolymita: De oppresione, liberatione ac restauratione Jerosolymitanae Ecclesiae* 11, in RHC Occ. 5:19.
37. Benzo of Alba, *Ad Heinricum IV. Imperatorem libri VII* 1.15, ed. Hans Seyffert, MGH SRG 65 (Hannover, 1996), p. 144. See also, I. S. Robinson, *Authority and Resistance in the Investiture Contest: The Polemical Literature of the Late Eleventh Century* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1978), pp. 74–5. The basis of Benzo's advice, the prophecy of the Tiburtine Sibyl, is published in *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen*, ed. Ernst Sackur (Halle: M. Niemeyer, 1898), pp. 117–87.
38. Adso's prophecies enjoyed an enormous circulation, with a correspondingly complex manuscript tradition. See Adso Dervensis, *De ortu et tempore Antichristi*, ed. D. Verhelst, CCCM 45 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1976); translation by Bernard McGinn, *Apocalyptic Spirituality* (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1976), pp. 89–96.
39. Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi*, 112, pp. 684–5. Alphandéry and Dupront erroneously identified the mountain as Mount Zion, though they elsewhere note the hermit's appearance on the Mount of Olives; see *La Chrétienté et l'idée*, 121 and 128 respectively.
40. "Jam te deinceps non stupebo, si feceris stupenda, immo stupebo si stupenda non feceris: ex illa ortum familia communem hominum viam terere non decet. Attamen cave, cave, fili, ecce hostis"; Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi*, 113, p. 685.
41. *Ibid.*, 129, pp. 695–6.
42. *Vita Beatae Idae Viduae*, AASS April 2, p. 142, describes Godfrey's father, Eustace of Boulogne, as, "heros quidam genere nobilissimus, Carolo etiam Regi consanguinitate proximus."
43. "dux regni magni et primi imperatoris Romanorum Augusti, hereditario jure suorum antecessorum nobilium"; Albert, *Historia*, 3.9, p. 345.
44. Albert, *Historia*, 2.16, pp. 310–1. Albert stresses that Baldwin entered into the service of the emperor as well: "sed etiam in vassalum."
45. Albert, *Historia*, 3.21, p. 353. See also Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana* 1.14, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1913), p. 6. The best analysis of Baldwin's activities in Edessa will appear in the forthcoming study by Christopher MacEvitt, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East*.
46. Alphandéry and Dupront, *La Chrétienté*, 131.

47. Raymond, *Liber*, 116–20. On this sequence of visions and its significance, see Luigi Russo, “Il *Liber* di Raimondo d’Aguilers e il ritrovamento della Sacra Lancia d’Antiochia,” *Studi Medievali: Rivista della Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull’Alto Medioevo*, 3rd. Ser., 47 (2006): 785–837, at 815–20; and John France, “Two Types of Vision on the First Crusade: Stephen of Valence and Peter Bartholomew,” *Crusades* 5 (2006): 1–20, esp. 15–18.
48. Albert, *Historia*, 6.34, p. 486.
49. Albert, *Historia*, 6.26–7, pp. 481–2.
50. “quae omnes mundi superat civitates nomine et sanctitate, sicut sol sua claritate universas coeli stellas...in solio regni Iherusalem”; Albert, *Historia*, 6.36–7, pp. 487–8.
51. Apoc. 19:17–18.
52. “sub nova gratia Rex primus fuit in Jerusalem praedestinatus”; *Vita beatae Idae*, 4, p. 142, with the vision of the sun mentioned at 3, p. 142.
53. Guibert, *Dei gesta*, 2.12, p. 129.
54. William, *Chronicon*, 9.6, p. 427. In the prophecy, she reserves the title of “king” for Baldwin.
55. Published in RHC Occ. 5:307–9.
56. In MS BNF Arsenal 1101, fol. 101v.
57. The *Liber floridus* has been published in a facsimile edition: Lambert of St. Omer, *Liber Floridus: Codex Autographus Bibliotheca Universitatis Gandavensis*, ed. Albert Derolez and I. Strubbe (Ghent: In aedibus Story-Scientia, 1968). The diagram in question appears on fol. 20v, p. 42.
58. Lambert, *Liber Floridus*, fol. 19v, p. 40.
59. “Isidorus dicit. Etas perpetua est: cuius neque initium neque extremum nescitur”; “Isidore says, ‘An age is beyond time: its beginning and its end are unknown’”; Lambert, *Liber Floridus*, fol. 20v, p. 42.
60. “MUNDI AETATES USQUE AD GODEFRIDUM REGEM.” Lambert of St. Omer also calls Godfrey king at Lambert, *Liber Floridus*, fol. 1v, p. 4 and fol. 43v, p. 88.
61. The best treatment of eschatology in Raymond’s book is Russo, “Il *Liber* di Raimondo.”
62. On Pons’s death, Raymond, *Liber*, 107; Pons is identified as the coauthor at *Liber*, 35.
63. Raymond describes Peter Bartholomew as a rustic at *Liber*, 68. He identifies himself as the man who first found the Lance at 75.
64. Raymond, *Liber*, 81–2.
65. Colin Morris argues that the Lance transformed itself from a common emblem of the army into an essentially Provençal relic: “Policy and Visions: The Case of the Holy Lance at Antioch,” in *War and Government in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of J. O. Prvestwich*, ed. J. Gillingham and J. C. Holt (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1984), pp. 33–45; as does more recently France, “Two Types of Vision.” See also Steven Runciman, “The Holy Lance Found at Antioch,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 68 (1950): 197–209.

66. Robert, *Historia*, 1.2, p. 729.
67. Fulcher, *Historia*, 1.16, p. 6 and 1.28, p. 1.
68. *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum* 10.30, ed. Rosalind Hill (London: T. Nelson, 1962), p. 74. Peter Tudebode, in his rendition of this scene, recalls Adhémar's exhortation to look after poor clerics: *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere*, ed. John H. and Laurita L. Hill (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1977), p. 117.
69. Guibert, *Dei gesta*, 7.22, p. 309.
70. Raymond, *Liber*, 49 and 55.
71. Raymond, *Liber*, 104.
72. Raymond, *Liber*, 131.
73. Raymond, *Liber*, 140.
74. Raymond, *Liber*, 99–101. Also 79.
75. Raymond, *Liber*, 68, 70, 71. See also 95–6.
76. Raymond, *Liber*, 112–16.
77. I cannot agree with Professor France's suggestion that the five groups represent the five national groups within the army: "Two Types of Vision," 17.
78. "occidite, quia proditores mei sunt fratres Iude Scarioth"; Raymond, *Liber*, 115.
79. Raymond, *Liber*, 115–16.
80. "Vade et annuncia que nosti. Et sufficiant tibi que scis"; Raymond, *Liber*, 116.
81. Raymond, *Liber*, 116. See also Flori's analysis in his *Pierre l'Ermite*, 402–4.
82. In particular the Jews. See Benjamin Z. Kedar, "The Forcible Baptisms of 1096: History and Historiography," in *Forschungen zur Recihs-, Papst- und Landesgeschichte: Peter Herde zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Karl Borchardt and Enno Bunz, vol. 1 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1998), pp. 187–200.
83. Pierre Riché briefly discusses the poor in Carolingian governmental thought in *L'empire carolingien, VIIIe–IXe siècles* (Paris: Hachette, 1973), pp. 302–3. Charlemagne's concern for charity is mentioned briefly as well at Einhard, *Vie de Charlemagne* 27, ed. Louis Halphen (Paris: Champion, 1923), p. 78.
84. The best "anti-Lance" account of Peter Bartholomew's trial is Ralph of Caen, who has Bohemond, acting the part of brilliant attorney, use logic and stinging rhetoric to destroy any confidence in the Lance or in its advocates: *Gesta Tancredi*, pp. 101–103, 677–99, and 108–109, p. 682.
85. Raymond, *Liber*, 153 (and 71, where the ceremony is first mentioned).
86. Albert, *Historia*, 6.41, pp. 490–1. See also *Gesta Francorum*, 10.39, p. 94, the source for most of the accounts that leave Peter at Jerusalem.

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CHAPTER 5

CHARLEMAGNE'S LEGACY AND ANGLO-NORMAN *IMPERIUM* IN HENRY OF HUNTINGDON'S *HISTORIA ANGLORUM*

Wendy Marie Hoofnagle

To say that the imperial figure of Charlemagne loomed large in the consciousness of post-Carolingian peoples on both sides of the Channel risks stating the obvious. In the centuries after his death, his persona took on a foundational value that is difficult to surpass, and many studies have shown the lasting impact of Carolingian policy and reform in tenth- and eleventh-century art, government, and religion.¹ There remains, however, a large gap in our understanding of the multifaceted inheritance of the legendary Charlemagne on the culture and policies of the twelfth century, especially among the Anglo-Normans, for whom Carolingian practices were an ideal, civilized approach to the practical world of governing disparate peoples, a notion reinforced by their practices as Norman dukes before the Conquest. The legend of Charlemagne as the epitome of kingship, both politically and morally, is reflected in many examples from the vast corpus of literature, including law codes and histories, which the Anglo-Normans produced in the twelfth century. It is their interpretation in this context of the *viae regiae* (the royal roads) that merits attention because of its unique evolution from a Carolingian political model, a symbol of Charlemagne's sacral kingship, to a tangible manifestation of Anglo-Norman *imperium* throughout the British Isles. Consequently, the goals and ideals of Anglo-Norman dominion, represented physically by the royal roads, are legitimized by the echoing symbol of Charlemagne's imperial leadership as a unifier, lawgiver, and peacemaker.

The twelfth century was a time when the Normans' increasing assimilation in their new home stimulated interest in the English past, resulting in a flurry of historiographical production to answer this need. At the forefront of this movement, in the second quarter of the twelfth century, Henry of Huntingdon wrote the *Historia Anglorum*, which exists in six versions in more than forty manuscripts and numerous other fragments or extracts.² Henry's writing is remarkable for several reasons, not least because of his treatment of Britain's wondrous landscape, where his reading of the trope of the *locus amoenus* quickly leaves the pastoral world of lush forests and fields to focus on a scene of urbane civilization: he emphasizes commercial overabundance, material wealth, and beauty, and roads spanning the island, uniting the various gentes under the protective aegis of the king. In the *Historia Anglorum*, the *locus amoenus* of the British landscape inherited from Bede's descriptions, one of Henry's main sources, becomes an Eden tamed and enhanced by imperial civilization, where nature and society exist in harmony with God's grace. As John Howe argues, "it seems to have been generally accepted that human improvements could enhance natural paradises," indeed, that they "could and should be transformed."³ This view corresponds with classical and Christian ideas regarding the king's stewardship over the land, as part of man's mission on earth to improve it, "serving as a partner of God in overseeing the earth."⁴ Twelfth-century writers certainly had plenty of criticism to heap upon those people who they thought violated this sacred trust; the author of the *Gesta Stephani* laments the Welsh people's barbarous waste of God's natural bounty in not improving the land by peacefully building towns and cultivating fields, but rather living like animals and cultivating treachery: "Now Wales is a country of woodland and pasture . . . , abounding in deer and fish, milk and herds; but it breeds men of an animal type, naturally swift-footed, accustomed to war, volatile in always breaking their word as in changing their abodes."⁵ The Normans were quick to remedy the egregious disrespect of the lawless Welsh for God's gifts, however, because when

the Normans conquered the English, this land they also added to their dominion and fortified with numberless castles; they perseveringly civilized it after they had vigorously subdued its inhabitants; to encourage peace they imposed law and statutes on them; and they made the land so productive and abounding in all kinds of resources that you would have reckoned it in no wise inferior to the most fertile part of Britain.⁶

Here the relationship between peaceful stewardship of the land and imperial dominion is made perfectly clear, as it is in Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia*.

Expanding on Bede's ideas, Henry changes the focus of Britain as a pastoral *locus amoenus*, shifting the description away from the landscape and the island's natural wealth by drawing attention to the urban civilization of his great land in a lengthy account of Britain's twenty-nine magnificent cities. He eschews completely Bede's celebration of Ireland's paradisaical wealth and glory (that "in breadth, and for wholesomeness and serenity of climate, greatly surpasses Britain"⁷) in favor of continuing his theme of *regnum*, by detailing the relentless progress of English kings and their control over the land. He subsequently concludes an extensive list of counties and bishoprics with the statement, "In our time the bishop of St Davids [of Wales] received from the Pope the pallium that in ancient days had been at Caerleon; but he very soon lost it," thus confirming the merit of contemporary English authority by dismissing the worthiness of the Welsh to rule.⁸

Henry quickly returns to his development of the civilized *locus amoenus*, the divine harmony of the urban setting with its natural environment, by claiming that the "cities mentioned above are sited in delightful positions and glitter on the banks of fruitful and very beautiful rivers."⁹ These "glittering" jewels of man's handiwork adorn the natural beauty of God's creation, which, in Henry's text, serves to convey the material wealth that flows into the land to enrich its inhabitants, such that they cut the most sophisticated, well-dressed figures in foreign countries: "Two rivers are more celebrated than the rest, the Thames and the Severn, like the two arms by which Britain brings out and carries in its own wealth and that of foreigners. A particular characteristic of Britain is that its natives, when traveling abroad, are more splendid in their dress and manner of living, whence they may be distinguished from other peoples."¹⁰ Thus the auspicious combination of Britain's natural wealth with Norman rule produces a civilization that ultimately outshines its Continental exemplar. But Henry's appropriation of Britain and its wealth becomes even more obvious by his adaptation of Bede's aforementioned praise of Ireland for a praise-poem of his own land, which goes one better than Bede by surpassing *all* lands. Henry writes, "That isle, blessed by its far-famed splendour, far surpasses in fertile fields, milk and honey, all others which that god rules, from whose foaming mouth the ocean flows."¹¹ This richness is once again closely linked to the land's urban centers as Henry's praise-poem continues, such that the cities themselves become emblematic for the wealth and fertility of the land and its various peoples:

To this witness London rich in ships, Winchester in wine, Hereford in flocks, Worcester in fruits of the earth; Bath famed for pools, Salisbury for

wild game, Canterbury for fish, York for woodlands, Exeter for metals; Norwich near to the Danes, Chester to the Irish, Chichester to the Gauls, Durham to the Norwegians,

and thus its peoples and urban landscape surpass all others in beauty:

There witness also Lincoln's people boundless in beauty, Ely for its beautiful site, Rochester in its appearance.¹²

It is Henry's invention of the myth of the Four Highways¹³ that past rulers have created across the island to establish peace, which significantly emphasizes the relationship between imperialism and civilization:

Britain was so dear to its inhabitants that they constructed four highways in it, from one end to the other, built by royal authority, so that no one would dare attack an enemy on them. The first is from east to west, and is called the Icknield Way. The second runs from south to north, and is called Ermine Street. The third goes across from Dover to Chester, that is from the southeast to the northwest, and is called Watling Street. The fourth, longer than the others, begins in Caithness and end in Totnes, that is from the beginning of Cornwall to the end of Scotland. This road, which is called the Fosse Way, takes a diagonal route from southwest to northeast, and passes through Lincoln. These are the four principal highways of England, which are very broad as well as splendid, protected by the edicts of kings and by venerable law codes.¹⁴

There are several noteworthy things suggested by this development, where Henry digresses significantly from Bede. The first, of course, is the invention of the myth of the Four Highways itself, which Alan Cooper suggests, "was one small part of a movement that sought, a full lifetime after the Norman Conquest, to uncover England's pre-Norman past."¹⁵ In its contemplation of the imperial legacies of "the succession of the most powerful kings who have existed,"¹⁶ however, Henry's history does not evoke a nostalgic longing for the recent Anglo-Saxon past, as might be suggested by Cooper's statement, but rather places Henry I squarely at the head of a long march of strong Roman and Frankish rulers who quelled social disorder and conflict. Although Robert Allen Rouse traces the post-Conquest *via regia* motif to Bede's account of King Edwin, claiming that it functions as "an important social concern within English and wider Germanic culture,"¹⁷ Rouse fails to explore the strong Frankish obsession with the *via regia*, which was an important motif for Carolingian treatises on good kingship such as Alcuin's *Rhetoric*, intended to instruct on the exercise of sacral kingship as represented by Charlemagne himself.

In addition to reinforcing the Anglo-Norman position in the grand scheme of European history, Henry's elaborate identification of the Four Highways with the king's legal authority and the roads' physical spanning not only of those lands we consider to be "England," but also the British lands of Wales and Scotland, underscores the Norman and Angevin kings' ambitions to overlordship of the entire island. Henry of Huntingdon's development of the monarchy, as a main theme of the *Historia*, climaxes with the rule of "the glorious and invincible" King Henry I,¹⁸ whom Henry calls "the conqueror and ruler of kings."¹⁹ Henry of Huntingdon's rendering of English history highlights the Anglo-Norman inheritance from imperial Europe, symbolized not by the natural glory and wealth of the island, as stressed by Bede, but by its civilized culture, such as the building of royal roads, that was brought by the Romans and augmented by Norman *mores* and government. The idea of Norman rule as *imperium* is further emphasized by Henry's explicit reference to Charlemagne's legacy: Henry quotes Psalm 76:11 when introducing Charlemagne's accession to the throne in 769 and calls him "the right hand of the Most High,"²⁰ employing the sacral image of kingship that Henry uses only one other time, in reference to William the Conqueror after the Battle of Hastings.²¹ He thus compares the Norman duke to Charlemagne and justifies Norman sovereignty in England and ultimately all of Britain.

That Henry of Huntingdon might have echoed a Carolingian imperial model should not surprise us. Janet Nelson has described Charlemagne's political achievement as "ideologically indefinitely renewable,"²² and the Normans had admired his reign since the early days of their dukedom.²³ John Le Patourel has observed that the "fact that England and Normandy were ruled together under the Norman kings... is frequently mentioned in general terms; but the question how far this might tend towards the assimilation of law and custom as between the two countries has rarely been considered specifically."²⁴ Norman involvement and personal investment in Carolingian affairs began, of course, with the series of agreements after 911 between the Northmen (invading Scandinavians) and Charles the Simple and his successors. This association would later become a cornerstone of Norman identity and perpetuated in chronicles and other contemporary texts, and though Norman dukes would ultimately transfer their allegiance to the Capetian kings, after their accession to the English throne in the mid-eleventh century the newly made kings found themselves increasingly at odds with their Capetian overlords. It is possible that they longed for the legendary wise justice and imperial strength of a Charlemagne. Indeed, it is clear from Henry of Huntingdon's use of Psalm 76:11 that the Normans fancied themselves as his legitimate heirs as "the right hand of the Most High." This imperial impulse resulted in

an Anglo-Norman obsession with the Continent from the eleventh century²⁵ that would have a profound impact on their political culture and developing identity. Even as late as 1165, a time when many scholars claim that Angevin kings were identifying with Arthur to legitimize overlordship in neighboring British lands,²⁶ Henry II was working with Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa (1152–90) to have Charlemagne canonized as both king and confessor, each ruler with a similar motive in mind: “to strengthen the authority of the reigning successor of the new saint.”²⁷ In 1175, Jordan Fantosme’s *Chronique de la guerre entre les Anglois et les Ecossais* hails Henry II as “the best king that ever lived”²⁸ and explicitly equates him to Charlemagne:

[Henry was] the most honourable and the most victorious
 That has been in any land since the time of Moses,
 Save only King Charles, whose power was great
 Through the Twelve Peers, Oliver, and Roland.
 One never heard in fable or story
 Of a single king of his valour or of his great power.²⁹

Indeed, the conclusion of Fantosme’s *Chronique* makes the correlation even clearer by describing Henry II rushing to Rouen’s aid after vanquishing the Scots,³⁰ in an echo of Gabriel’s command to Charlemagne to relieve the siege of Imphe at the close of the *Chanson de Roland*.³¹

The idea of “empire” available to the Normans was not a homogeneous one, however, especially after Charlemagne’s reign significantly revised its Roman imperial model. In the early centuries after the Fall of Rome, the title of *imperator* came to be used by any ruler of multiple dependent kingdoms, especially one who came into power through military conquest.³² In general though, the civilized appeal of Roman *imperium* lingered long after its collapse and would continue to be exploited in a variety of contexts both secular and Christian, particularly through the employment of images of Roman rule, such as portraits on coins, seals, dress, insignia of office, and in flattering epithets.³³ Subsequent rulers, therefore, strove to align themselves directly with Rome and its power by duplicating an empire to which they hoped to appear as equal in prestige. For example, in the mid-sixth century, Cassiodorus quotes Theodoric the Great as saying, “Our kingship is an imitation of yours, modeled on your good design, a copy of the only Empire. By as much as we follow you, so much we precede all other peoples.”³⁴ Charlemagne in particular promoted the notion of his rule as a resurrection of Roman imperialism, but with an important difference from earlier medieval emulation of the glory of Roman Antiquity: the writers of his court claimed that not only

did his sovereignty over a vast *imperium* equal that of Rome, it would ultimately exceed it in power and sophistication. In their eyes, Rome's star had descended and Charlemagne's was quickly on the rise. Alcuin describes the Rome of his day as the erstwhile "capital and wonder of the world" of which "only a barbarous ruin now remains."³⁵ Charlemagne's palace and chapel at Aachen, an "emulation of the work of other powerful rulers, past and present"³⁶ and part of Charlemagne's own vigorous program of imperialist propaganda, were constructed in the 790s on the site of Roman ruins.

Although Charlemagne and the Normans both appropriated the civilized aura of Roman antiquity in creating their sacred landscapes, they were mindful of the distinction between Rome, the Empire of classical antiquity, and Rome, the contemporary political territory coming into its own as a western Christian center separate from the eastern one of Byzantium, and they strove to remain clear of its entangling political complexity while making the most of the legitimacy such an association transferred to themselves. When Charlemagne invested "his new-found title [of emperor] with the rhetorical mantle of historical authentication" by placing the motto of "the renewal of the Roman Empire" on his seal in the spring of 801,³⁷ he instituted a program to advance the new image of emperor that made the most of his connection with Rome while still maintaining his autonomy as ruler. After his visit in the winter of 800–1, he never saw Rome again; Julia M.H. Smith has commented on Charlemagne's wisdom in keeping Rome and its complex political quagmire at arm's length:

[For] a transalpine emperor, Rome was more useful as an idea than as a centre of government. As an idea, it drew on the antique past to confer a potent form of legitimacy; as a place of power, it was best left well alone, distant but powerfully evocative. Though the rhetoric of Romanness added a patina of ancient respectability to the new forms of hegemonic kingship that emerged in northern Europe from the end of the eighth century onwards, most early medieval ideologues knew very well how to distinguish "Rome" from "empire."³⁸

In exploiting the benefits of *imperium* while maintaining a non-Rome-centered empire, Charlemagne instituted a form of sacral kingship that would be emulated all over Europe for generations to come: as Smith notes, for instance, Alfred of Wessex "found useful precedent in Carolingian ideologies of royal authority,"³⁹ and the *ordo* for Edgar's coronation ceremony at Bath in 973 relied heavily on the images of sacral kingship from Carolingian and Ottonian exemplars.⁴⁰ It was the

Anglo-Normans, however, who imitated his program of imperial propaganda most closely in England, as seen in their emphasis on creating topographies of power derived from Charlemagne's ideal of "historical authentication" that appropriated the authority of Rome to demonstrate further how they surpassed it. Perhaps because Rome's cultural and political significance by the year 1000 was, for the most part, religious in nature,⁴¹ the Anglo-Normans looked to Charlemagne as a model emperor. The Anglo-Normans absorbed the rhetoric of Charlemagne's court writers into their own imperial ideology, and when the time came to recount the history of their own "empire," the Carolingian stamp is unmistakable. It is, for example, perhaps no coincidence that the earliest known version of *La Chanson de Roland* and the only manuscript of the *Voyage or Pèlerinage de Charlemagne* were both written in Anglo-Norman.⁴²

The importance of the *viae regiae* to the Anglo-Normans in this context as visual reminders of a pre-Norman imperial past cannot be underestimated. D. W. Meinig argues that there exist throughout the world "landscape depictions which may be powerfully evocative because they are understood as being a particular kind of place rather than a precise building or locality."⁴³ Ultimately, these "symbolic landscapes" become "part of the shared set of ideas and memories and feelings which bind a people together."⁴⁴ The "symbolic landscapes" in the context of the Four Highways for the Anglo-Normans represented an imperial civilization and its unifying strength, order, and stability. If, as Nicholas Howe suggests, "the human progress toward the holy" can be demarcated by a Roman arch probably plundered in its entirety from a Roman building and later installed in a church,⁴⁵ then Anglo-Norman imperialism and unity are dependent on, and symbolized by, the network of Roman roads uniting the island with its web of interconnecting arteries whose lifeblood flows by the strength of the king's law. Unlike the Anglo-Saxons, who Matthew Innes notes were required to treat the Danelaw provinces north of Watling Street "with the greatest of care" to avoid clashes along this political and ethnic boundary,⁴⁶ under the Normans there existed a deliberate blurring or blending of ethnicity and regional identity, derived from the Carolingian ideal of *imperium* that they fostered in their own reigns both as dukes of Normandy and as kings of England. Although the roads "endured as evidence for the fading transience of all that was human-made within the scope of Christian history," they also commemorated the spread of imperial power and civilization.⁴⁷ The Normans' appropriation and expansion of the *via regia* participates, therefore, in the tradition of *translatio imperii* derived from a Carolingian

foundation, similar to their invention of a Trojan ancestor in Brutus for their national creation myth. For Henry of Huntingdon, whose historical concerns centered on the progress of *imperium*, these reminders of imperial rule were at once an emblem of the legitimacy of Anglo-Norman sovereignty and also an enduring symbol of sacral kingship that was responsible for the protection of the land and its people.

Throughout the body of his work, Henry is simultaneously a champion of *translatio imperii* and deeply concerned with the heavenly kingdom and the achievement of immortality through Christian kingship, as evident in his advice in a letter to Henry I: "Consequently you may evidently learn whether, with your usual great exertion of mind, you should cherish and preserve this kingdom, which you possess by hereditary right, or rather, and far more admirably, you should summon up and concentrate your strength on seeking and gaining another kingdom" [i.e., the kingdom of heaven].⁴⁸ This sentiment is reminiscent of the writers at Charlemagne's court, where his imperial role as earthly king and vicar of God was first mentioned by Cathwulf in a letter to Charlemagne and subsequently elaborated by influential writers such as Alcuin.⁴⁹ Throughout the body of their work, Charlemagne's kingship emerges as a paradigm of stewardship, not only in a practical sense in his governance of the land itself, but also in a moral sense in his responsibility for the salvation of his people. Examples of the *via regia* as a moral guide in the biblical sense abound in patristic writing: in *De Civitate Dei* X, Augustine writes of the *via regalis*, the royal road, as an ethical model that represents "the only route to the kingdom of heaven."⁵⁰ But as Luitpold Wallach notes, "during the Carolingian age the expression [of the *via regia*] gained general recognition as a political idea"⁵¹ such that Alcuin composed his *Rhetoric*, which is essentially a treatise on kingship or good government, with the idea of the *via regia* in mind.⁵² He closely associated the concept of the *via regia* with the ruler's exemplary *mores* as a guide for his subjects. In a letter to Charlemagne, Alcuin reminded the king of the unifying quality of the idea of the *via regia*,⁵³ an important concern for later Anglo-Norman writers grappling with the unification of English and Norman peoples. By the twelfth century, as the relationship between good kingship and the *via regia* became a concrete and practical concern in the minds of Anglo-Normans, the royal road came to symbolize their ideal of peace maintained by a strong king's laws. Thus, the king himself becomes directly associated in a physical sense with the laws of the *viae regiae* and their implications for peace and unity among the Anglo-Norman people.

Sacral kingship was not the only Carolingian institution that appealed to the Normans. As Le Patourel remarks,

In spite of the variety of titles attributed to the rulers of Normandy before the Conquest, their government had been scarcely less than royal. It can be argued that more rights and prerogatives derived ultimately from Carolingian royalty had survived or been revived in the hands of the dukes of Normandy than most other princes in Western Francia had managed to preserve.⁵⁴

Inherent in the “rights and prerogatives” that Le Patourel mentions is the establishment of justice in the person of the Duke, and later the king. Even before William set sail for England, the Norman dukes had set themselves up as kings in all but name, using Charlemagne as a model and inspiration as reflected in their imitation of his style of governance.⁵⁵ Historiographers would later apply the image of Charlemagne to Anglo-Norman kings, and this image would incorporate a second, more secular, dimension to the sacerdotal Carolingian ideal. As “the very Idea of Justice,”⁵⁶ the king would come to embody the law and represent in a physical sense the peace of the land he rules through the administration of justice.⁵⁷ For Anglo-Norman kings, there could be many practical applications of this new component to the Carolingian ideals for the development and maintenance of empires, as evidenced in particular by Henry of Huntingdon’s interpretation of the *via regia* and his justification for the Normans’ *imperium*.

The link between the Anglo-Normans and imperial Europe is reiterated in Henry of Huntingdon’s discussion of the British peoples’ common origins in Dardanus, the illustrious ancestor of Bruto who settled the rich island and founded a great dynasty.⁵⁸ For Henry, however, the Roman Empire would ultimately be outstripped by the supremacy of Charlemagne, as evidenced by his aforementioned use of Psalm 76:11 regarding Charlemagne’s accession to the throne of the Franks. The only other time Henry uses the phrase, “there began to be a change in the right hand of the Most High,”⁵⁹ is his description of the Battle of Hastings and William’s stunning victory there, divinely foretold by the comet. The phrase consequently becomes an allusion to Charlemagne’s imperial sovereignty: “William, taking possession of this great victory, was received peacefully by the Londoners, and was crowned at Westminster by Ealdred, archbishop of York. Thus occurred *a change in the right hand of the Most High*, which a huge comet had presaged at the beginning of the same year.”⁶⁰ Many modern students of Norman history and literature tend to ignore this overt comparison between the two rulers in favor of Henry’s depiction of

the Normans as one of the five plagues sent by God, of which the Romans are the first.⁶¹ It is important to look at the rest of the picture, however, in this regard: Henry later claims that the Romans “ruled splendidly by right of conquest,”⁶² and the Normans “by right of kingship granted to the conquered their life, liberty, and ancient laws”⁶³ because they “were justified according to the law of peoples, in both claiming and gaining possession of England.”⁶⁴ The Normans came to power “at God’s command, so that evil would befall the ungodly;” furthermore, “He had decided to exterminate [the English people] for their compelling crimes, just as the Britons were humbled when their sins accused them.”⁶⁵ Thus, in Henry’s account, some of the “plagues” sent by God are not to be viewed as a pestilence, but rather as a healthful purgative, like blood-letting to cure disease.⁶⁶ In his unusual interpretation of *translatio imperii*, Henry maintains that it is necessary for God to send worthy rulers, who rule by the civilized means of law, to claim the rich land once its existing inhabitants prove themselves undeserving of the bounty of their island paradise. For Henry and the Anglo-Norman kings, furthermore, this empire is justifiable because of the legacy of Charlemagne and his divine function as “the right hand of the Most High,” which they, and they alone, have inherited.

Early Anglo-Norman kingship was fraught with difficulty: the kings were continually striving to establish their legitimacy, unify the different peoples of their realms, and consolidate their empire—in the European political world overall as well as in England. The physical reminders of Roman imperialism, such as baths, villas, and roads, dotted the landscape of England and served to emphasize the passing nature of earthly *regnum* but were also appropriated to justify Anglo-Norman ambition and expansion in the tradition of *translatio imperii*. A Rome-centered empire, however, did not appeal to Anglo-Norman kings. Instead, they looked to the imperial model offered by the unparalleled legacy of Charlemagne as a lawgiver and peacemaker. Here, they found a wealth of material to adapt to their needs, just as they had from the beginning of their tenure as dukes of Normandy, where they ruled as kings in all but name. The Normans were known for their support of the Carolingian monarchy, and they made certain to emulate these kings in their histories, laws, and practices, adding the patina of a Carolingian style of kingship to the legitimacy of their rule. The nature of this kingship is a complicated one, weaving royal law and sacral authority to the image of the king as the divinely appointed vicar of God, leading the people to their salvation in the heavenly kingdom. This view of the *via regia* is expanded by writers of the Carolingian court in their practical guides to kingship, for the integration of the disparate gentes of Charlemagne’s far-flung kingdom

and for securing his growing empire. For the Normans, this idea is taken quite literally: the *via regia* is at once the royal road, the public space that the king protects with his strong laws, and the symbol of his sacral kingship. Henry of Huntingdon demonstrates this trend in his invention of the myth of the Four Highways, evoking the image of the symbolic landscape and what formerly was great about the Roman Empire and its stewardship over the land, and is becoming even greater under the urbane customs of the Normans. It is Charlemagne, however, who supersedes the magnitude of the Romans and their civilized achievements as far as the Anglo-Normans are concerned because of his legend as the “right hand of the Most High.” They were diligent about perpetuating their right to his legacy and in doing so, they also promoted their ambitions to empire-building in the British Isles.

Notes

1. More recent scholarly interest, especially in cross-channel relations, has resulted in Joanna Story, *Carolingian Connections: Anglo-Saxon England and Carolingian Francia, c.750–870* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003); *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); and *Charlemagne: Empire and Society*, ed. Joanna Story (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2005); among others.
2. Henry wrote six different versions of his chronicle, with endings at 1129, 1138, 1146, 1149, and 1154, which represent his complex process of composition and revision. According to Diana Greenway, about forty-five manuscripts preserve for the most part the whole of these six versions and show that his work was being copied well into the sixteenth century. Two manuscripts from the seventeenth century, currently at the Vatican Library, belonged to Queen Christina of Sweden. *Historia Anglorum: The History of the English People*, ed. and trans. Diana Greenway (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 66–77, 117–60, hereafter cited as *HA*.
3. John Howe, “Medieval Development of Sacred Space,” in *Inventing Medieval Landscapes: Senses of Places in Medieval Europe*, ed. John Howe and Michael Wolfe (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2002), pp. 212–13.
4. Clarence J. Glacken, *Traces on the Rhodian Shore: Nature and Culture in Western Thought from Ancient Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), pp. 144–9.
5. *Gesta Stephani*, ed. and trans. K. R. Potter (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), §8: “Est autem Walonia terra siluestris et pascuosa..., ceruorum quidem et piscium, lactis et armentorum uberrima; sed hominem nutrix bestialium, natura uelocium, consuetudine bellantium, fide semper et locis instabilium.”

6. *Ibid.*, §8: "Postquem autem Normanni, bello commisso, Anglos sibi subiugarunt, hanc etiam suo imperio terram adicientes castellis unnumeris munire; propriis incolis uiriliter edomitis, constanter excoluer; ad pacem confouendam, legem et plebiscita eis indixere; adeoque terram fertilem omnibusque copiis affluentem reddidere, ut fecundissimae Britanniae nequaquam inferiorem aestimares."
7. *Historiae Ecclesiasticae Gentis Anglorum Libri Quinque*, ed. John Smith (Cambridge: typis academicis, 1722), §1: "Hibernia autem & latitudine sui status, & salubritate, ac serenitate aerum multum Brittaniae praestat." Furthermore, "The island abounds in milk and honey, nor is there any lack of vines, fish, or fowl" ("Dives lactis ac mellis insula, nec vinearum expers, piscium volucrumque"; see below for Henry's use of Bede's statements in a praise-poem for England).
8. *HA*, §i.5: "Tempore autem nostro receipt episcopus Sancti Dauid pallium a papa quod scilicet fuerat olim apud Cairlegion, se statim tamen amisit." Greenway corroborates this reading, because Henry's statement "presumably refers to the papal ruling of 29 June 1147, that Bernard owed obedience to Canterbury." See Greenway, *Historia Anglorum*, 18 n. 25.
9. *HA* §i.6: "Vrbes autem predicte amenis insite locis super flumina chorus-cant fertilia et pulcherrima."
10. *HA* §i.6: "Sunt tamen duo flumina ceteris clariora, Tamasis et Sabrina, quasi duo brachia Britannie, per que sibi suas et alienas effert et infert diuicias. Proprie uero proprium Britannie est, ut incole eius in peregrinationem tendentes, omnibus gentibus cultu et sumptu clariores ex hoc unde sint dinosci possint."
11. *HA* §i.6: "Illa quidem, longe celebri splendore beata,\ Glebis lacte fauis supereminet insula cunctis,\ Quas regir ille deus, spumanti cuius ab ore\ Profluit oceanus."
12. *HA* §i.6: "Testes Lundonie ratibus, Wintonia Bacho,\ Hereforda grege, Wirecestria fruge redundans;\ Batha lacu, Salebira feris, Cantuaria pisce,\ Eboracum siluis, Excestria clara metallis;\ Noruuicium Dacis, Hibernis Cestria, Gallis\ Cicestrum, Noruuageniis Dunelma propinquans.\ Testis Lincolie gens infinita decore,\ Testis Ely Formosa situ, Roueceastria uisu."
13. The *Leis Willelme* also record four roads upon which travelers can expect to have the benefit of the king's special peace. Although generally attributed to the late eleventh century, Patrick Wormald tentatively dates this French law-book to the mid-twelfth century, in *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1999), pp. 408–9. He claims that its reference to the peace of the four great roads is an overlap with *Leges Edwardi Confessoris*. Alan Cooper traces the *Leges Edwardi*'s usage to Henry of Huntingdon and concludes that Henry invented the idea in "The King's Four Highways: Legal Fiction meets Fictional Law," *Journal of Medieval History* 26 (2000): 351–70.
14. *HA* §i.7: "Tante autem gracie inhabitantibus fuit Britannia, quod quatuor in ea calles a fine in finem construerent, regia sullimatos auctoritate, ne aliquis in eis inimicum inuadere auderet. Primus est ab oriente in

occidentem, et uocatur Ichenild. Secundus est ab austro in aquilonem et uocatur Erningstrate. Tercius est ex transuerso a Dorobernia in Cestriam, scilicet ab euroaustro in zephirum septentrionalem, et uocatur Watlingstrate. Quartus maior ceteris incipit in Catenes et desinit in Totenes, scilicet a principio Cornugallie in finem Scocie. Et hic callis uadit ex transuerso a zephiro australi in eorum septentrionalem, et uocatur Fossa, tenditque per Lincoliam. Hii sunt quatuor principales calles Anglie, multum quidem spaciose, sed nec minus speciose, sanciti edicitis regum scriptisque uerendis legum.”

15. Cooper, “King’s Four Highways,” 365.
16. “de serie regum potentissimorum qui per orbem terrarum hucusque fuerunt.” *HA*, 502.
17. Robert Allen Rouse, *The Idea of Anglo-Saxon England in Middle English Romance* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2005), p. 109.
18. “gloriosi et inuictissimi.” *HA*, 494.
19. “regum uictor et dominator.” *HA*, 502.
20. *HA* §iv.23, “inceptit fieri mutatio dextere excelsi.”
21. For more on this comparison, see below, pp. 86–7.
22. Janet L. Nelson, “Aachen as a Place of Power,” in *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Mayke de Jong and Frans Theuws (Leiden: Brill, 2001), p. 237.
23. See Bruce O’Brien, *God’s Peace and King’s Peace: The Laws of Edward the Confessor* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), esp. p. 210 n. 22: “That the *reality* of Norman rule differed in degree from the Carolingian *ideal* of governance, as preserved in formularies and capitularies, is no surprise and should not lead to a rejection of the influence or attractiveness of that ideal to, for example, late-tenth- or eleventh-century Norman counts and dukes.”
24. John Le Patourel, *The Norman Empire* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), p. 261.
25. G. O. Sayles, *The Medieval Foundations of England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950), p. 276.
26. For example, Rouse erroneously claims that Henry II named one of his sons Arthur to lend “a royal seal of approval to an English Arthurian history.” *Idea of Anglo-Saxon England*, 12. According to William of Newburgh, Brittany’s barons named Geoffrey of Brittany’s son (born 1187, after Henry II’s death) Arthur to defy Henry II. For an alternative view of Arthur’s influence in the course of the twelfth century, see John Gillingham, *The English in the Twelfth Century* (Rochester, NY: Boydell & Brewer, 2000), esp. pp. 22–3; and Gillingham, “The Cultivation of History, Legend, and Courtesy at the Court of Henry II,” in *Writers of the Reign of Henry II*, ed. Ruth Kennedy and Simon Meecham-Jones (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), pp. 36–9.
27. H. Koeppler, “Frederick Barbarossa and the Schools of Bologna,” *English Historical Review* 54 (1939): 578. Barbarossa’s imperial decree, dated 8 January 1166 (the canonization was actually celebrated 29 December

1165), reads in part: "This is why, having been so confidently disposed on account of the merits and glorious deeds of this most saintly emperor Charles, and having been persuaded by the earnest appeal of our very dear friend Henry, the illustrious king of England, we celebrated a solemn feast at Aachen at Christmastime for the purpose of exhibiting, consecrating, and canonizing his most blessed body, with the approval and the authority of the lord pope Paschal and with the universal consent of all the princes, both secular and ecclesiastical alike." ("Inde est quod nos gloriosis factis et meritis tam sanctissimi imperatoris Karoli confidenter animati et sedula petitione carissimi amici nostri Heinrici illustris regis Anglie inducti, assensu et auctoritate domini pape Paschalis et ex consilio principum universorum tam saecularium quam ecclesiasticorum pro revelatione, exaltatione atque canonizatione sanctissimi corporis eius sollempnem curiam in natali domini apud Aquisgranum celebravimus.") Cf. James Cain, "Charlemagne in the 1170's: Reading the Oxford *Roland* in the Context of the Becket Controversy," <http://www.bu.edu/english/levine/cain.htm> (accessed 6 March 2007). It is also important to note here that Henry II had Edward the Confessor, not Arthur, canonized for purposes of enhancing the prestige of the English crown. See Bernhard W. Scholz, "The Canonization of Edward the Confessor," *Speculum* 36 (1961): 38–60. In essence, Henry II's participation in Charlemagne's canonization would have secured his imperial legitimacy on both sides of the Channel.

28. "Mieldre curuné qui unkes fust en vie." *Chronique de Jordan Fantosme*, in *Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard Howlett (Verduz: Kraus Reprint, 1964), l. 2.
29. "Le plus honorable e le plus cunquerant\ Que fust en nule terre puis le tens Moysant,\ Fors sulement li reis Charle, ki poesté fud grant\ Par les dudze cumpaignuns, Olivier, e Rodlant.\ Si ne fud mès oï en fable ne en geste\ Un sul rei de sa valur ne de sa grant poeste." Howlett, *Chronique*, ll. 112–17.
30. "Roem est asise, sa cité; ne voldra plus demurer." Howlett, *Chronique*, l. 2051.
31. *La Chanson de Roland*, ed. and trans. Gerard J. Brault (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1984), ll. 3993–4001.
32. Early medieval writers used Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies* as a guide to classical culture, in which he observes that the title of *imperator* originally referred to a general in command, but became a title that the senate bestowed on Augustus to distinguish him from other, ordinary, kings. See Julia M. H. Smith, *Europe after Rome: A New Cultural History, 500–1000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), esp. pp. 273–7.
33. Smith, *Europe after Rome*, 275.
34. *Cassiodori Senatoris Variae*, ed. Theodor Mommsen, MGH Auctores antiquissimi, vol. 12 (Berlin, 1898), p. 10. "Regnum nostrum imitatio vestra est, forma boni propositi, unici exemplar imperii: qui quantum vos sequimur, tantum gentes alias anteimus." Translated in Smith, *Europe after Rome*, 275. Charlemagne also removed a statue of Theodoric from Ravenna to put at Aachen.

35. "Roma, caput mundi, mundi decus, aurea Roma,/ Nunc remanet tantum saeva ruina tibi," ll. 37–8, in *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance*, ed. and trans. Peter Godman (London: Gerald Duckworth, 1985), pp. 128–9.
36. Nelson, "Aachen as a Place of Power," 220.
37. Smith, *Europe after Rome*, 276.
38. Smith, *Europe after Rome*, 276–7.
39. Smith, *Europe after Rome*, 276.
40. See Robert Deshman, "Christus rex et magi regis: Kingship and Christology in Ottonian and Anglo-Saxon Art," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 10 (1976): 401–2, and Janet L. Nelson, "The Second English Ordo," *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe* (London: Hambledon Press, 1986), pp. 361–74.
41. As Smith notes, "from a world of Roman culture within which Christianity was one element in 500, by 1000 Europe had become a Christian world of which Roman cultural attributes formed one aspect," *Europe after Rome*, 295.
42. The earliest manuscript of *La Chanson de Roland* is from the mid-twelfth century, Oxford, Bodleian MS Digby 23. For a recent study of the manuscript in its Anglo-Norman context, see Andrew Taylor, *Textual Situations: Three Medieval Manuscripts and Their Readers* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), pp. 26–70. The *Voyage de Charlemagne*, once preserved in a now-lost manuscript in the British Museum, was a fourteenth-century Anglo-Norman copy of an earlier exemplar. For a recent edition with translation, see Glyn S. Burgess *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne* (Edinburgh, UK: Société Rencesvals British Branch, 1998).
43. D. W. Meinig, *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), p. 165.
44. Meinig, *Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes*, 164.
45. Nicholas Howe, "Anglo-Saxon England and the Postcolonial Void," in *Postcolonial Approaches to the Middle Ages: Translating Cultures*, ed. Ananya Jahanara Kabir and Deanne Williams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 39.
46. Matthew Innes, "Danelaw Identities: Ethnicity, Regionalism, and Political Allegiance," in *Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, ed. Dawn M. Hadley and Julian D. Richards (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2000), p. 85.
47. Howe, "Anglo-Saxon England," 30–2.
48. "Hic itaque liquido comparari poteris an regnum istud, quod hereditario possides iure, totis animi nisibus, ut assolet, amplectendum tibi sit et retinendum, an potius longe aliud prestantius isto, congestis et coactis uiribus, querendum tibi sit et adquirendum." *HA*, 502–3.
49. "Tu es in vice illius (Dei regis tui)." Cathwulf, *Ad Karolum*, ed. Ernst Dümmler, *MGH Epistolae*, vol. 4 (Berlin, 1895), p. 503. See also Joanna Story, "Cathwulf, Kingship, and the Royal Abbey of Saint Denis," *Speculum* 74 (1999): 1–21.

50. J. Den Boeft, "Some Etymologies in Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* X," *Vigiliae Christianae* 33 (1979): 255.
51. Luitpold Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne: Studies in Carolingian History and Literature* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1959), p. 69. In this vein, Smaragdus of St. Mihiel called his treatise on kingship *Via Regia*.
52. Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne*, 32.
53. Alcuin, *Ad Karolum*, ed. Ernst Dümmler, MGH Epistolae, vol. 4 (Berlin, 1895), pp. 292–3.
54. Le Patourel, *Norman Empire*, 238.
55. Felice Lifshitz, "La Normandie carolingienne: essai sur la continuité, avec utilization de sources negligees," *Annales de Normandie* 48 (1998): 505–24.
56. Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1957), p. 96.
57. As Walter Ullman points out, "the Ruler himself was the embodied idea of law, was the *nomos empsychos*, the *lex animata*," in *The Individual and Society in the Middle Ages* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1966), p. 49.
58. *HA* §i.9.
59. *HA* §iv.22: "Anno gratie dcclxix, Kinewlfi uero Regis anno quinto decimo, *inceptit fieri mutatio dextere excelsi*. Imperium namque Romanum, quod tot annis in se precellentissimum fuerat, Karoli regi magno Francorum subiectum est, post triginta annos regni eius, quod in hoc anno inceperat, et successoribus eius usque ad hunc diem exinde contigit." (Emphasis mine.)
60. *HA* §vi.30: "Willelmus uero tanta potitus uictoria, susceptus a Landoniensibus pacifice, et coronatus est apud Westmunster ab Aldredo Eboracensi archiepiscopo. *Sic facta est mutatio dextere excelsi*. Quam cometa ingens in exordio eiusdem anni designauerat." (Emphasis mine.)
61. *HA* §i.4: "Quinque autem plagas ad exordio usque ad presens immisit diuina ultio Brittanie, que non solum uisitit fideles, sed etiam diiudicat infideles. Primam per Romanos, qui Brittaniam expugnauerunt sed postea recesserunt. Secundam per Pictos et Scotos, qui grauissime eam bellis uexauerunt, nec tamen optinuerunt. Terciam per Anglicos, qui eam debellauerunt et optinent. Quartam per Dacos, qui eam bellis optinuerunt, sed postea deperierunt. Quintam per Normannos, qui eam deuicerunt et Anglis inpresentiarum dominantur."
62. *HA* §v.1: "lege dominantium splendide rexerunt."
63. *HA* §v.1: "uictis uitam et libertatem legesque antiquas regni uire concesserunt, de quibus in antea dicendum est."
64. *HA* §vi.1: "angliam iuste secundum ius gentium Normanni et calumpniati sunt et adepti sunt."
65. *HA* §vi.1: "Hoc autem Dei nutu factum esse constat, ut ueniret contra improbos malum. Genti enim Anglorum, quam sceleribus suis exigentibus disterninare proposuerat, sicut et ipsi Britones peccatis accusantibus

humiliauerant, Dominus omnipotens dupplicem contricionem proposuit et quasi militares insidias adhibuit.”

66. Specifically, these beneficial “plagues” were the Romans, Saxons and Normans, who ruled rightly by law; they stand in stark contrast to the Danes, for example, who were a “plague more widespread and cruel than the others” (“Hec siquidem long inmanior longe crudelior ceteris fuit”), who did not aim “to possess the land but to plunder it, and [desired] not to govern but to destroy everything” (“eam non optinere sed predari studebant, et omnia destruere non dominari cupiebant”), *HA* §v.1.

PART II

MODELING THE MAN

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CHAPTER 6

CHARLEMAGNE AS SAINT? RELICS AND THE CHOICE OF WINDOW SUBJECTS AT CHARTRES CATHEDRAL

Elizabeth Pastan

Chartres Cathedral is the model to which scholars turn to understand medieval stained glass programs.¹ No other Gothic monument even approaches the number of surviving windows at Chartres, which retains approximately 173 extant medieval windows out of 186 apertures.² While not as rigorously structured as contemporaneous early thirteenth-century stained glass cycles at Bourges and Canterbury,³ the thematic groupings of the window subjects at Chartres hint compellingly at clerical oversight and coordination. Joined to the Christological subjects of the northern nave and the Marian emphasis in the southern nave, is a choir program of subjects devoted to apostles, church fathers, and martyrs that is crowned by clerestory windows celebrating the Virgin Mary, to whom the cathedral was dedicated.⁴

Yet, there is at least one subject that has never been satisfactorily explained: the window dedicated to Charlemagne (figure 6.1), centrally located with the glazing devoted to ecclesiastical forebears in the choir.⁵ While Charlemagne was canonized, reticence regarding his saintly status may be inferred from the fact that his canonization did not occur until 1165, nearly four centuries after his death, and took place then under what can only be described as irregular circumstances.⁶ Even *The Golden Legend*, the collection of medieval saints' lives compiled ca. 1260 by Jacobus de Voragine, discusses Charlemagne



Figure 6.1 General view of the Charlemagne window, baie 7, northern choir ambulatory, Chartres Cathedral, c. 1210–20.

Source: Photo by author.

solely as an historical figure and alludes to the persistent rumors about him:

One very strange thing about the great emperor Charlemagne was that as long as he lived, he would not allow any of his daughters to marry: he said that he could not bear to be deprived of their companionship Yet the emperor pretended not to be aware that any suspicion was aroused by the situation (though there was a great deal of talk about it).⁷

Reflecting his ambiguous sainthood is the fact that, unlike most of the window subjects at Chartres Cathedral, Charlemagne never became part of the liturgy.⁸ There were a number of saints to whom windows were dedicated, including Remigius, Marguerite, Catherine, Thomas Becket, Theodore, Eustache, Paul the Hermit, Antoine, Blaise, and Julien the Hospitalier, who were not featured in the liturgy before the Gothic rebuilding of Chartres⁹—even when, as was the case for Theodore, the chapter possessed a major relic of the saint.¹⁰ Colette Mahnes-Deremble has demonstrated that in all of these instances, the new stained glass portrayals of the saints actually stimulated cultic activity, leading to the addition of major liturgical celebrations in the course of the thirteenth century.¹¹ Charlemagne, however, did not become the subject of any sustained veneration in France until his cult was promulgated under the initiative of Charles V in the second half of the fourteenth century.¹²

The problematic nature of the Charlemagne window may be further demonstrated by the ways it contrasts with windows near it in the choir. The scenes do not conform to the standard progression of events, which, in ascending order, would portray the conversion, good works, martyrdom, and reception of the saint into heaven.¹³ Moreover, the events in the Charlemagne window pertain to several disparate textual traditions, and even the protagonist appears to change from Charlemagne to Roland in the upper portion of the window. There are only two other choir windows that feature historical rulers, but these windows are actually dedicated to the saints responsible for the rulers' conversion: the stories of King Clovis and the Emperor Constantine unfold in windows dedicated to Saint Remigius and Pope Sylvester, respectively.¹⁴ Charlemagne's story alone is told without saintly intermediary.¹⁵ His window also has nine inscriptions identifying him as "*Carolus*."¹⁶ Other windows in the choir make occasional use of text to identify protagonists, but only the choir window of Pope Sylvester, with eight inscriptions identifying St. Sylvester, two naming St. Timothy, and seven scrolls spelling out the laws for the early church established under Constantine, is more heavily inscribed.¹⁷

This fact suggests that, however disjointed the scenes in the Charlemagne window, the designers intended to invoke Charlemagne: it is not the story of Roland or St. Gilles.

Because of the comprehensive survival of the medieval glazing program at Chartres, by examining the underlying conception of the Charlemagne window there, we can learn more about medieval image making. Far from merely serving in the decorative and didactic functions subsumed under the venerable notion of “pictorial bibles for the illiterate,” which ultimately refers to ideas about the role of images attributed to Pope Gregory I (590–604), the Charlemagne window will allow us to examine the ways images from the High Middle Ages engaged the beholder.¹⁸ A thirteenth-century glazing program like Chartres’ enables us to assess the new roles served by images in general, and the role played by stained glass in particular. The importance of stained glass windows thematically and devotionally follows from the fact that the glazing of a medieval site cost as much as the architecture itself.¹⁹ Moreover, since its cleaning in 2000, the Charlemagne window has reclaimed the viewer’s full attention.²⁰ At an intermediate stage in 1997, when the Charlemagne window had yet to undergo conservation and the window of St. James (to the right) had already been cleaned, it was evident how much of the legibility and charisma of a window is compromised when neglected. Undoubtedly it was for this reason, that medieval sources as early as Saint-Denis (c. 1140) attest to the presence of a craftsman whose duty was to oversee the “protection and repair” of the windows.²¹

To explain the role of the Charlemagne window in the glazing program at Chartres, I review the prevalent scholarly interpretations, then situate the window within the cathedral and examine several key scenes, before offering my own suggestions about the larger importance of Charlemagne to the site.

Scholarly Interpretations

The interpretive difficulties posed by the Charlemagne window at Chartres are suggested by the various hypotheses scholars have come up with to explain it. Cognizant of the fact that there was no cult of Charlemagne at Chartres, Canon Yves Delaporte drew attention to the so-called signature scene of the furriers depicted at the bottom of the window (figure 6.2) and suggested that the furriers as donors chose Charlemagne to be the subject of their window because he was a hunter, pointing out that the furriers also are depicted in the window of St. Eustache, “himself a hunter too.”²² While evidence exists for a thematic relationship between some of the workers and



Figure 6.2 Detail, scene of furriers from the bottom of the Charlemagne window, Chartres Cathedral.

Source: Photo by author.

the saints on whose windows they are represented, this connection is by no means thoroughgoing.²³ The traditional explanation that the workers at the bottoms of numerous windows depict the donors has been challenged convincingly and largely given way to the idea that these figures represent a clerical ideal of labor.²⁴

At the other end of the interpretive spectrum, Stephen Nichols emphasized the religious intent of the Charlemagne window. Nichols views the window as a retelling of Christ's Passion. His strategy resembles the approach of viewing the saints' lives as *exempla Christi*; however, his method differs in that he uses disparate anagogic elements in the window to "activate" the Passion narrative.²⁵ In Nichols's account, the Christ-like figure switches from James to Charlemagne to Roland. And for Nichols, the combat between Roland and the Saracen (figure 6.13) is really about their debate, relayed at length in the Pseudo-Turpin, on the concept of resurrection, which is a notion that is not visually accessible to the beholder.²⁶

A third kind of interpretation is offered by Wolfgang Kemp, who regards the windows at Chartres as part of the larger development of the expansion of vernacular narratives in Gothic art.²⁷ As suggested by scenes from the Prodigal Son window at Chartres, which are his particular focus, Kemp argues that 80–90 percent of the works of art in Gothic cathedrals do not contain biblical or dogmatic themes but expand

creatively in the interests of narrative and pictorial integrity.²⁸ Nonetheless, Kemp's method does not take the placement of windows within the building into account: the Charlemagne window might read differently if placed outside of the choir, or if paired with windows of penitents or warriors.²⁹ But the Charlemagne window is grouped with others dedicated to apostles, church fathers, and martyrs, and next to the window of Saint James.

The most recent scholar to consider the iconographic program at Chartres Cathedral is Colette Manhes-Deremble, for whom the window reflects Philip Augustus's view of himself as an "*alter Karolus*." For Manhes-Deremble, the window speaks to the French king's desire to wrest claims of Carolingian lineage away from the German emperors.³⁰ Although one might concede Manhes-Deremble's point that Charlemagne was important to the French monarch, the work of scholars from R.W. Southern to André Chédeville calls into question why a major statement of Capetian kingship, untied to a specific donation by Philip Augustus himself, would be made in Chartres in this period.³¹ Despite the claims of earlier scholars, the king's support of the Gothic rebuilding of Chartres has been demonstrated to be minimal.³²

None of the hypotheses advanced to date is entirely persuasive because each is inconsistent with some vital aspect of window, be it assumptions about the role of the donor in imposing a subject in the sacred topography of the choir, or the text-based, or even ideological nature of the analysis. All of these interpretations are instructive, however, because they demonstrate ways in which contemporaneous beholders could have interacted meaningfully with the Charlemagne window.³³ Nonetheless, they leave unanswered the essential question: what is a window dedicated to such an ambivalent figure doing in a key aperture in the liturgical choir?

Setting in the Cathedral

Location matters. Where in the hierarchy of sacred space a window occurs, which subjects it is grouped with, and even the side of the building on which it is found, can color its meaning. For this reason, windows offered enormous possibilities for the designers of medieval iconographic programs. The natural light through the windows could serve symbolic purposes. Key subjects might be highlighted by placing them in the brightest, eastern portion of the building, where services were performed. As the northern side was always the darker side, Old Testament subjects were often placed on this side and contrasted to the brighter Gospel subjects on the south. The nave, as the larger and more

public section of the building, might be given over to more popular saints, in contradistinction to the choir, where a more select range of sacred subjects tended to cluster. Each church setting adopted these basic tendencies according to its own devotional context. At Chartres, for example, because of its dedication to the Virgin Mary, Marian subjects were given prominence by their concentration in the brighter southern windows.

The Charlemagne window is found in the intimate environment of the northern choir ambulatory.³⁴ As it is not nestled into one of the three choir chapels but opens directly into the ambulatory, the window, which rises from a sill about twenty-five feet off the ground and continues another thirty feet in height, remains visible throughout the choir. The window would have been a commanding presence even when the medieval choir screen, the monumental architectural structure approximately eighteen feet high that encompassed the five bays of the choir and contained the seventy-two canons' choir stalls, was in place.³⁵

There is every reason to believe that the placement of the Charlemagne window is deliberate. The underlying organization of the windows as a whole does not point to haphazard choices. Further suggestive of the programmatic meaning of the window is its pairing with the window dedicated to the apostle James.³⁶ It was Charlemagne who liberated the tomb of James in Galicia from the infidel thus rescuing him from neglect and instigating pilgrimages to the site. Reciprocally, it was St. James, in a well-known twelfth-century account, who decided that Charlemagne's good deeds outweighed his sins.³⁷ The diptych of windows at Chartres is thus consistent with the tone and emphases of the twelfth-century account, in which Charlemagne's failings are acknowledged, but were outweighed by his activities on behalf of the church. This differs markedly from later thirteenth-century portrayals where he is considerably more idealized.³⁸ As this resonant pairing indicates, Charlemagne and James are guarantors for one another.

Scenes within the Window

The choice and arrangement of subjects within the Charlemagne window does not yield easy answers about how and why the window was put together. The customary sequence of images in a window runs from bottom to top and from left to right, as suggested by the numbered diagram (figure 6.3). Duncan Robertson, Isabelle Rolland, and others have pointed out that the centrifugal patterns of the armature design encourage more complex and less sequential combinations as well.³⁹ Nonetheless, in any reading, the central vertical spine consisting of the

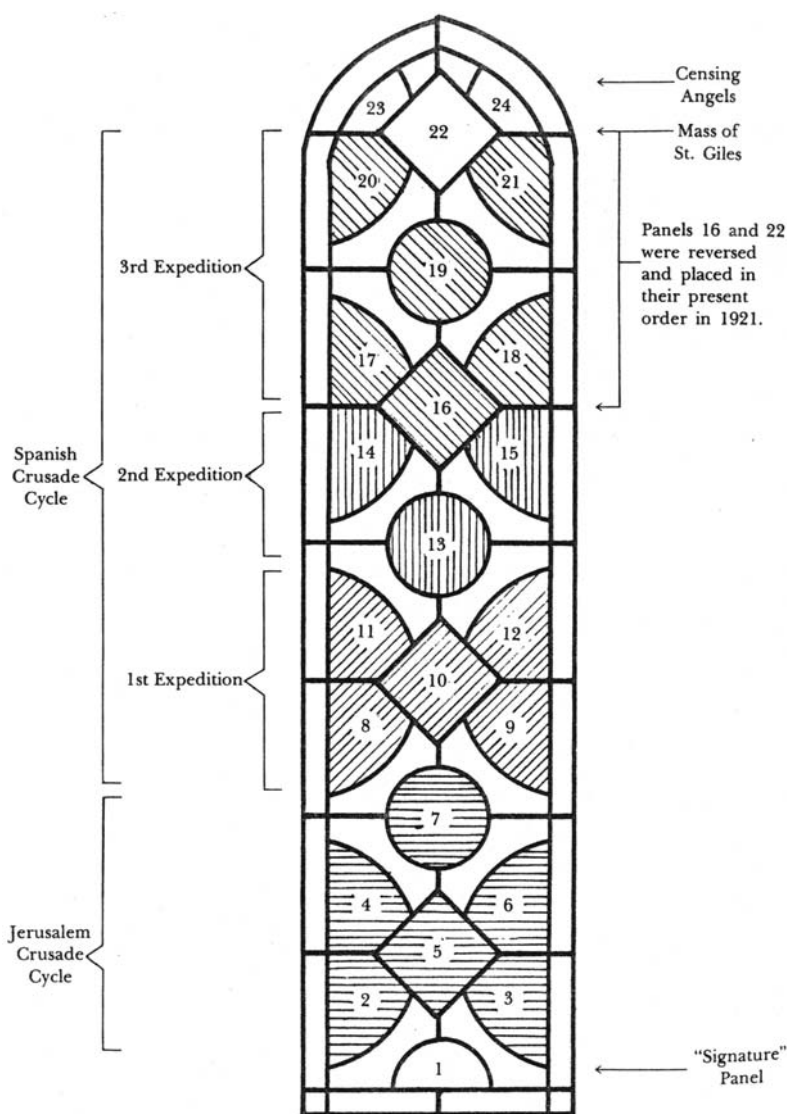


Figure 6.3 Diagram of the Charlemagne window, Chartres Cathedral, with subjects numbered according to sequence of scenes.

Source: Courtesy of Clark Maines.

medallions located at panels #5 (Charlemagne received in Constantinople), 7 (Charlemagne offering relics), 10 (Departure of the Emperor for Spain), 13 (Charlemagne overseeing construction of a church), 16 (Battle of Roland and a Warrior), 19 (Roland breaking his sword Durendal and sounding his Oliphant), and 22 (the Mass of Saint Gilles) would play a significant role, and these will be the focus of emphasis here. The examination of these scenes will introduce the narrative techniques employed within the window and allow us to consider the question of source material, both textual and visual.

The lower six scenes of the window (panels #2–7) are devoted to Charlemagne's so-called Jerusalem Crusade (figures 6.3 and 6.4) and offer close comparison to a late eleventh-century Latin chronicle known as the *Descriptio qualiter*, recounting the emperor's purported voyage to the Holy Land.⁴⁰ The Jerusalem cycle begins with the scene in which an angel reveals to a dreaming Emperor Constantine of Constantinople that Charlemagne, identified by inscription as *CAROLUS* and depicted with visor down and a prominent red shield, would be the one to reconquer Jerusalem (figure 6.5).

The central panel #5 depicting Charlemagne and the ambassadors from Constantinople resembles a panel that once belonged to a twelfth-century crusading window at Saint-Denis, as recorded in engravings published in 1729 by Bernard de Montfaucon.⁴¹ While comparison of the scenes of Charlemagne received in Constantinople from Saint-Denis (c. 1150) and Chartres (c. 1205–21) might at first suggest that the earlier work served as a pictorial source for the Chartres window, the compositions are fairly conventional. Moreover, the reconstruction of the Saint-Denis window by Brown and Cothren, which projects only two scenes featuring Charlemagne and the remainder of the fourteen scenes focusing on the First Crusade,⁴² demonstrates just how different its conception was from the Charlemagne window at Chartres. The inscriptions emphasize this difference; in the engraving after the Saint-Denis medallion, the text reads, "*Inperatores. Constantinopolis*,"⁴³ whereas in the window at Chartres the inscription reads, as it consistently does, "*Carolus*." Brown and Cothren make the point that Charlemagne's presence in the Saint-Denis window is best explained by his status as the archetypal crusader rather than being a particular focus of veneration.⁴⁴

There is nothing from the Crusading Window at Saint-Denis that compares to the next scenes from the Jerusalem cycle in the Chartres window. In the second register on the right, Charlemagne is offered gifts by the emperor of Constantinople and refuses anything but relics (panel #6), as he appears to indicate here by his gesture toward three gabled reliquaries.

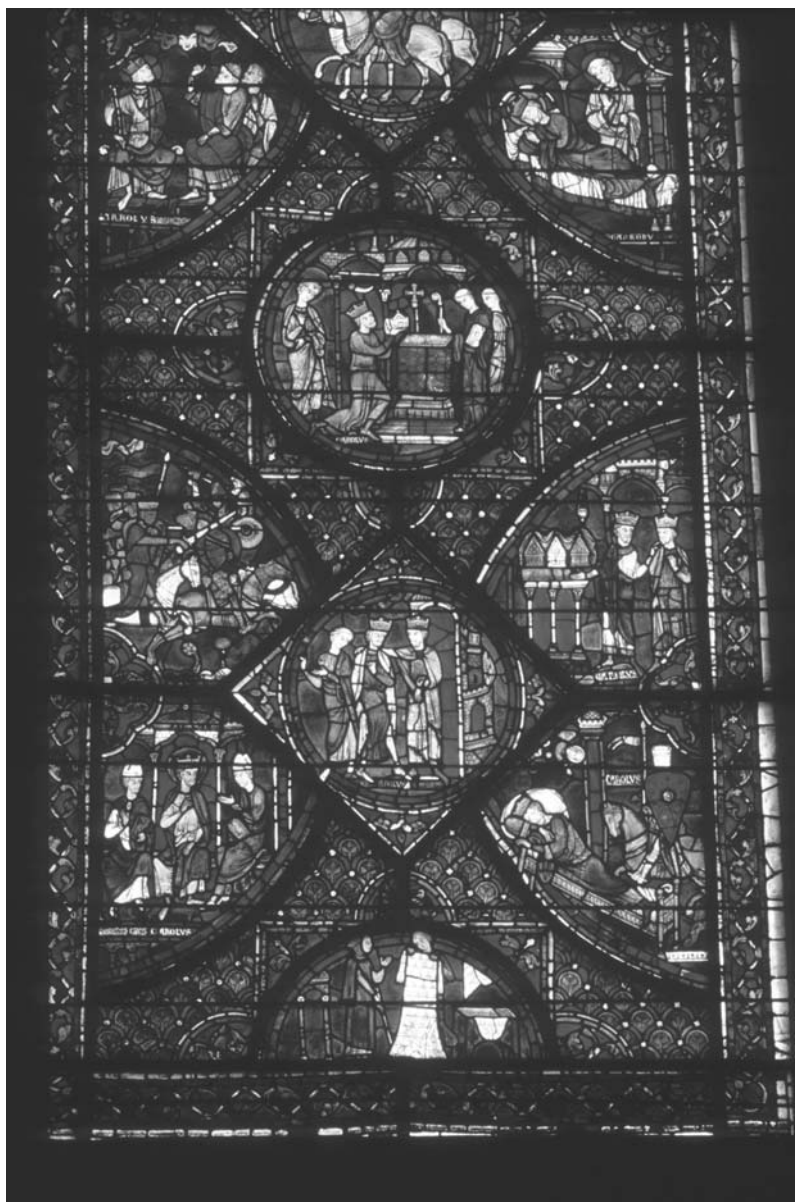


Figure 6.4 View of the lower portion of the Charlemagne window with scenes from the Jerusalem Crusade, Chartres Cathedral.

Source: Photo by author.



Figure 6.5 Detail, Dream of Constantine, revealing that Charlemagne will reconquer the Holy Land, #2 from the Charlemagne window, Chartres Cathedral.

Source: Photo by author.



Figure 6.6 Detail, Charlemagne offering forth relics, #7 from the Charlemagne window, Chartres Cathedral.

Source: Photo by author.

In the central medallion (figure 6.6), Charlemagne then offers forth these relics, which are enumerated in the *Descriptio qualiter*.⁴⁵ This scene compares to one of the eight reliefs on the Shrine of Charlemagne at Aachen, dated to 1215 (figure 6.7).⁴⁶ The compositions differ because the Chartres medallion depicts a single scene of donation by the kneeling Charlemagne, whereas the Aachen composition consists of two separate scenes, both of which are mentioned in the inscription that surrounded the rectangular panel:⁴⁷ on the left, the standing figure of Constantine presents the Crown of Thorns to the kneeling Charlemagne; then on the right side of the composition, the Miracle of the Glove suspended in air appears behind an equestrian image of Charlemagne. The Aachen relief also departs from the Chartrain medallion in its detailed depiction of the Crown of Thorns, which is also evoked in the Shrine's inscription. In the window, Charlemagne is the only one who is labeled, and he offers what appears to be a jeweled reliquary in the shape of a crown. Despite these differences, the eight reliefs on the roof of the Aachen shrine offer the closest extant contemporaneous iconographical comparisons to the Charlemagne window at Chartres, since all the scenes at Aachen are present in some form in the Charlemagne window.⁴⁸



Figure 6.7 Detail from the Reliquary Shrine of Charlemagne showing Charlemagne receiving Crown of Thorn relic, c. 1215.

Source: © Domkapitel Aachen, photo Ann Münchow.

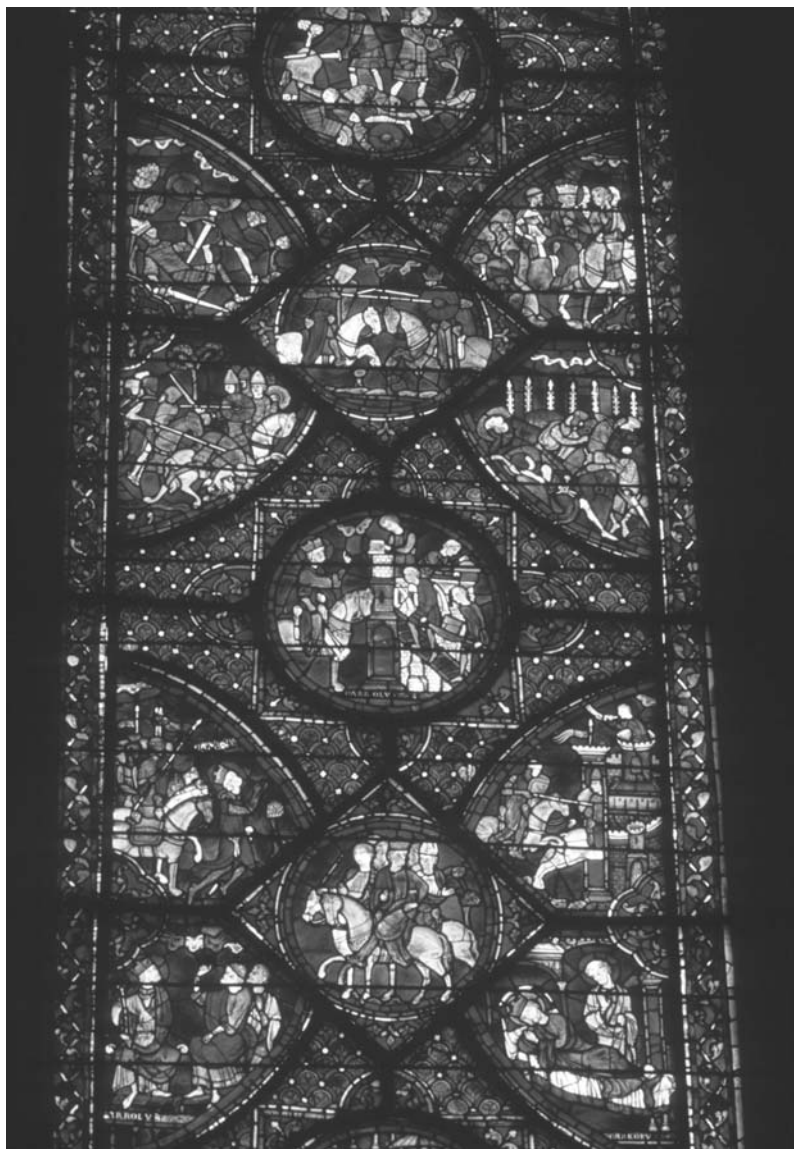


Figure 6.8 View of the central section of the Charlemagne window with scenes #8–16 from the Spanish Crusade, Chartres Cathedral.

Source: Photo by author.

The next fourteen stained glass panels, occupying the majority of the window, depict Charlemagne's Spanish expedition (figures 6.3 and 6.8), recalling the Pseudo-Turpin, which was said to be the *mémoire* of Archbishop Turpin of Reims, a contemporary of Charlemagne.⁴⁹ A dream (panel #9; figure 6.9) inaugurates this cycle as a saintly figure appears to the sleeping Charlemagne.⁵⁰ Pictorial comparanda, including illuminations from the textual tradition of the *Codex Calixtinus*, the compilation of texts and music in the service of the cult of Saint James, indicate that the standing figure at right must be the apostle James.⁵¹ In the Chartres window, however, only Charlemagne is identified by inscription.

The change in setting to Spain is also conveyed to the beholder by the central scene of travel at panel #10 and a scene of building construction at #13 (figure 6.10) that is characteristic of episodes in the Pseudo-Turpin.



Figure 6.9 Detail, Saint James appearing in dream to Charlemagne, #9 from the Charlemagne window, Chartres Cathedral.

Source: Photo by author.



Figure 6.10 Detail, Charlemagne overseeing the building of a church, #13 from the Charlemagne window, Chartres Cathedral.

Source: Photo by author.

Remensnyder has pointed out that since Charlemagne appears in the foundation legends of fourteen monasteries in southern France, and since his building activity is also referred to in the chronicle of Hugh of Fleury and the *Vita* of Charlemagne composed in the empire at the time of his canonization, the legend of his foundations must “reflect in part historical realities.”⁵²

The interpretation of the scene of Charlemagne overseeing the building of a church (figure 6.10) has been the subject of discussion. Clark Maines argues that the scene is based on the elaborate description in the Pseudo-Turpin of the building of a church in honor of the martyrs Facundus and Primitivus, while Carolyn Carty suggests that the scene is a generic representation of the many churches Charlemagne founded.⁵³ Their difference in opinion goes to the question of how explicitly texts were involved in the conception of the window. Would the window designer, presumably a learned canon of the cathedral chapter, be invoking specific written texts?⁵⁴ Or might the designer be drawing from more diffuse kinds of materials, including legends communicated orally?⁵⁵ Moreover, given the effort to create a harmonious composition, evident in the adroit balance of scenes of movement and stasis, in the insertion of dream imagery to signal a change in direction, and in the combination of disparate types of sources, should one envision the primacy of written sources over visual considerations?⁵⁶ Ultimately,

no matter which texts were utilized, they need to come together in a design for a visually effective window, not just as a compilation of indexable sources.

The scenes involving Spain celebrate the heroic deeds of Roland, who is the subject of one-third of the upper scenes in the window at Chartres. The inscriptions naming Charlemagne that pepper the lower half of the window cease after medallion #13, reflecting this apparent change in protagonist. In medallion #19 from the Chartrain window (figure 6.11), Roland is shown striking his sword Durendal to prevent his enemies from getting it, alongside another scene showing Roland belatedly sounding his Oliphant to call for Charlemagne's aid. Durendal,⁵⁷ given to Roland by Charlemagne, was said to have precious relics embedded in the handle, including the tooth of Saint Peter, blood of St. Basil, hair of St. Denis, and part of the clothing of the Virgin.⁵⁸ While a thematic correspondence to the scenes of Charlemagne obtaining relics from Jerusalem might thereby be inferred, such a connection assumes prior knowledge or prompting, since the sword's miraculous powers are alluded to indirectly. The attentive listener would understand why Roland breaks his sword, but only a very astute beholder would make a visual connection between the oliphants that tie together panels #7 and 19 (figures 6.7 and 6.12).⁵⁹



Figure 6.11 Detail, Roland with sword and Oliphant, #19 from the Charlemagne window, Chartres Cathedral.

Source: Photo by author.

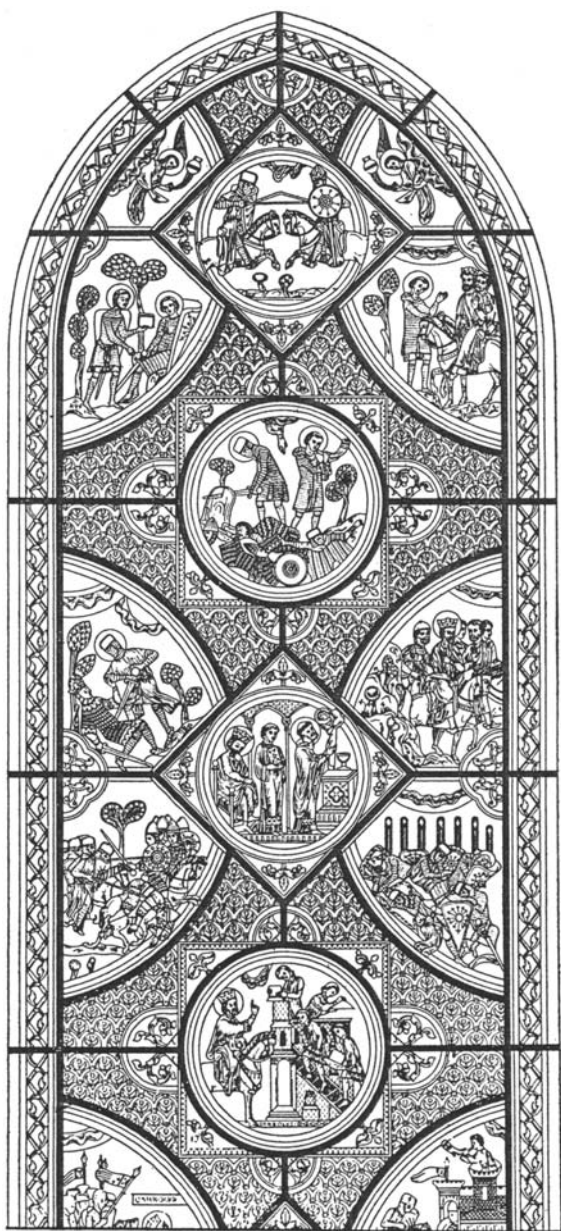


Figure 6.12 Engraving of Charlemagne window before 1921 restoration, showing battle scene of Roland at apex #22, Chartres Cathedral.

Source: Didron.

Before a restoration undertaken in 1921,⁶⁰ the lozenge at the apex of the window was a scene of battle, generally identified as Roland's battle with a Saracen (figure 6.12).⁶¹ We cannot know whether the battle, now located at panel #16 (figure 6.13), was originally at the top of the medieval window, although its implicit themes of Christianity against the heathen and eternal life obtained through martyrdom, have been interpreted as providing "iconographical closure" to the window.⁶² The current placement of the Mass of Saint Gilles at the top of the window (figure 6.14) does help the composition complement the other religious subjects in the choir, at least superficially, in imposing a scene of heavenly invention at the apex.⁶³ This scene relates to a third extant literary tradition, the *Vita* of Saint Gilles,⁶⁴ and refers to the miracle whereby the saint brought about the forgiveness of Charlemagne's sin "too terrible to confess," which presumably was Charlemagne's incestuous relationship with his sister that produced Roland.⁶⁵ When Saint Gilles was celebrating mass before the emperor, the sin was revealed on a scroll relayed from heaven (figure 6.15). Absolution was granted on the condition that Charlemagne repent and marry his sister to one of his knights.⁶⁶ However, the current placement positions a scene that presumably took place before Roland's birth after the scenes of Roland's death on the battlefield of Roncevalles.

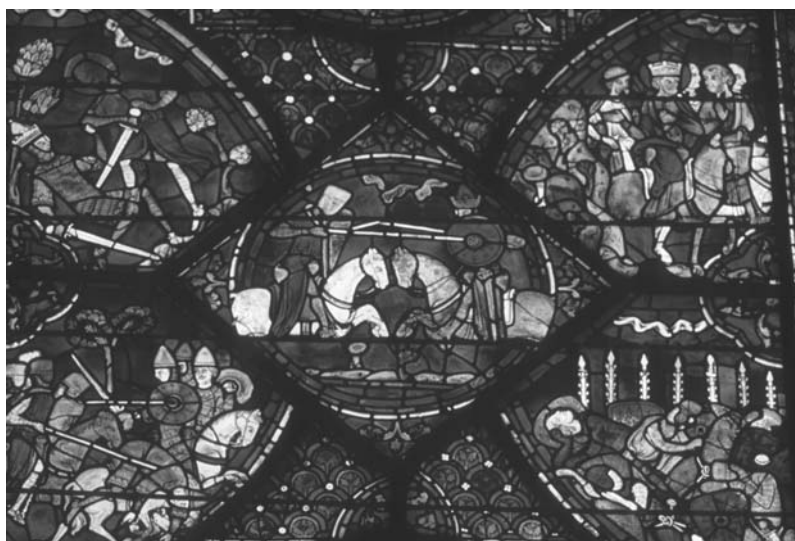


Figure 6.13 Battle between Roland and a warrior, currently #16 from the Charlemagne window, Chartres Cathedral.

Source: Photo by author.



Figure 6.14 View of upper portion of Charlemagne window, showing the Mass of Saint Gilles scene currently at apex, Chartres Cathedral.

Source: Photo by author.



Figure 6.15 Detail, scene of the Mass of Saint Gilles, currently panel #22, Chartres Cathedral.

Source: Photo by author.

Even if one would argue against a sequential reading of the window, and the episodic nature of the scenes does offer that possibility, the current placement of the Mass of Saint Gilles at the top of the window foregrounds the issue of Charlemagne's sinful behavior.⁶⁷

This brief look at select scenes from the Charlemagne window has alluded to the complexity of its subjects. The window draws upon at least three identifiable textual traditions—the *Descriptio qualiter* with Charlemagne's voyage to the Holy Land, the Pseudo-Turpin with its account of the Spanish Crusade, and the *Vita* of Saint Gilles, which focuses on Charlemagne's sin. As Mahnes-Deremble has shown for numerous windows at Chartres, it is the degree of pictorial autonomy in the Charlemagne window, not textual indebtedness, which is most striking.⁶⁸ Comparisons to disparate works—including the Crusading Window from Saint-Denis, the *Codex Calixtinus*, and the Shrine of Charlemagne—demonstrate that the Chartres window pursues an independent agenda. Even the Shrine of Charlemagne in Aachen, which has the most thematic connections with the window, does not resemble it in the composition of the individual scenes, the nature of the inscriptions, or in the Chartrain emphasis on Roland. Moreover, the window reads additively. This impression is exacerbated by the fact that the scenes do not progress toward a cumulative narrative moment, a point underscored by the controversy over whether the current panel #16 depicting the battle or the present panel #22 with the Mass was originally at the apex of the window (see figure 6.3).⁶⁹ The window as it exists is in fact more like a collection of the most recognizable stories associated with Charlemagne rather than a narrative in its own right.

Charlemagne within Chartres

What then was the programmatic significance of placing Charlemagne so prominently in this Gothic cathedral? Missing from all the hypotheses offered to date is an investigation of this problematic figure within the context of Chartres itself. As Robert Folz's magisterial study on the legend of Charlemagne emphasized, Charlemagne is not a clear-cut historical person, or a well-defined literary character, although his mythic status partakes of both.⁷⁰ Eugene Vance has gone so far as to describe Charlemagne as "an ideological discourse."⁷¹ Clearly, we need to investigate what Charlemagne meant at Chartres.

In fact, Charlemagne figures most prominently at Chartres in this period in connection with the relic of the Virgin known as the *Sancta Camisia*, still present in the cathedral.⁷² The importance of the *Sancta Camisia* and

Charlemagne's role in bestowing it on the cathedral are expounded in two texts from Chartres, a *Miracles of Notre Dame*, composed in Latin by a canon of Chartres at approximately the same time as the Gothic windows were made ca. 1210, and a French verse translation made from the Latin *Miracles* by Jean le Marchant around 1262.⁷³ As the Latin text explained, the relic was a garment worn by Mary while pregnant, and when she gave birth,⁷⁴ and as Jean le Marchant elaborated, the garment was especially important because it touched both mother and child.⁷⁵

Within Chartres, as alluded to in both the Latin *Miracles* and the French verses based on it, the Virgin's relic was believed to have been brought back from Constantinople by a Carolingian ruler.⁷⁶ From there it was presumably deposited at Aachen,⁷⁷ and then presented to Chartres in 876 by Charlemagne's grandson Charles the Bald.⁷⁸ Reports of the miracles it inspired may be traced through early Norman chronicles dating from the decades soon after its arrival at Chartres: according to Dudo of Saint-Quentin writing near the end of the tenth century, the bishop of Chartres bore the tunic into battle against Rollo of Normandy in 911 and through it succeeded in ousting the Normans.⁷⁹ This event was included in *The Golden Legend* account of the Assumption of the Virgin c. 1260,⁸⁰ and the *Vieille Chronique*, written in Chartres in 1389.⁸¹ Evidently, the presence of the relic also expelled Louis VI from Chartres in 1119, and persuaded the community to rebuild after the devastating fire of 1194.⁸²

If a specific donor for the relic of the *Sancta Camisia* is named, it is Charles the Bald, who is mentioned in William of Malmesbury (c. 1090–1143), as well as in the Latin *Miracles of Notre Dame* and Jean le Marchant's corresponding French verses.⁸³ However, the donations and foundations of Charlemagne's descendants were regularly overwritten to refer, in preference, to Charlemagne himself. The gift of the Crown of Thorns to Saint Denis is credited to Charles the Bald in the *Descriptio qualiter* of the late eleventh century, yet already by the twelfth century is attributed directly to Charlemagne; Louis the Pious's foundation of Conques is given over to Charlemagne whose role is concretized in his gift of the Holy Umbilical Cord; and Charlemagne overshadows Robert of Limoges' foundation of the abbey of Charroux, and he is celebrated above all as the donor of the Holy Foreskin.⁸⁴ These documentary interpolations in favor of Charlemagne reflect two underlying notions: first, many Carolingian foundations and privileges were eventually expressed in tangible form as a relic said to come from Charlemagne, and second, no matter which descendant actually made the gift, it was Charlemagne who brought the relics back from the East. The Latin text of the *Miracles of Notre Dame* (c. 1210) refers tellingly to the relic bestowed on Chartres as the endowment from "*unus ex Karolis*,"

literally from one of the Charleses.⁸⁵ “*CAROLUS*,” the basic form of the inscription used in the window, could refer to any of the Charleses, but clearly it is used here as a metonym for Charles the Great.

As Annemarie Weyl Carr observed, “a veritable laundry-chute of garments” originating in the East was attributed to Mary, but the Chartrain relic was granted particular status.⁸⁶ Even Abbot Guibert of Nogent (1064–ca. 1125), whose distrust of medieval relics is well known, referred with approval to the relics of the Blessed Mother of God at Chartres.⁸⁷ It was only when the reliquary was opened in 1712 that the garment, often described as a tunic, was discovered to be a veil. Evidently, pieces of the garment were distributed over time: Charles Rohault de Fleury, in his account of 1878, described a single piece of cloth 5.40m in length⁸⁸ but by the time technical analyses were conducted in 1927 the *Sancta Camisia* had become two pieces of linen, the longer of which was just more than two meters in length.⁸⁹

The extant fourteenth-century cartulary of Chartres Cathedral refers to the *Sancta Camisia* in four different ways: through the obituary notice of Teudon, the tenth-century craftsman who created the reliquary for it;⁹⁰ through the gifts of jewelry that nobles and ecclesiasts gave to it from the eleventh through the thirteenth centuries;⁹¹ through its brief mention during King Philip Augustus’s visit of the cathedral to view the damages caused by the riot of 1210;⁹² and through the practice of warriors leaving for battle who would touch their own garments to the shrine to prevent weapons from penetrating.⁹³ These references tie the relic into the community in very specific ways, by noting the antiquity of the manufacture of the reliquary by which the relic would be experienced, the often very personal gifts of jewelry given to the shrine, the description of it within the church setting, and its apotropaic applications.

Alexandre Pintard, one of the seventeenth-century historians who followed the old sources closely, offered an intriguing suggestion about the *Sancta Camisia*. Pintard described the so-called Charlemagne window “as what one might call a history of the sainte Chemise.”⁹⁴ If Pintard’s tentative characterization of the window as a history of Chartres’ most important relic is embraced, many difficulties in understanding the window’s role in the program are resolved. Its prominent location among the choir windows dedicated to foundational figures of the church makes sense. The insistence on the importance of Charlemagne, the only temporal ruler given his own window and emphasized through nine inscriptions, becomes comprehensible. The parallels to Christological narratives on the one hand, and the life of Philip Augustus on the other, assume their proper status as thematic connections, but not the reason for

the window's existence. The problem of the lack of a clear teleology that guides the narratives assembled recedes before the window's role as part of an authentication strategy to insist on the emperor's role in the donation of the relic of the Virgin to Chartres Cathedral; the window is not a traditional narrative or hagiographic account, but something more akin to a genealogy. As Patrick Geary has shown, every relic needed a pedigree that fixed its identity and explained how it reached its setting;⁹⁵ the legendary journey of Charlemagne to the Holy Land provided just such an occasion.⁹⁶

The clergy at Chartres Cathedral chose a key choir aperture for this window under the terms that Charlemagne was meaningful to them: that is, as the donor of the *Sancta Camisia*. To this end, they compiled scenes of Charlemagne's acquisition of the relics and his most recognizable deeds in luminous testimony to the ancient lineage of the relic. Its enviable pedigree is thus performed perpetually, a monumental counterpart to the spirit of community identity and self-promotion that inspired the contemporaneous *Miracles of Notre Dame*.

There is yet another way in which the Charlemagne window functions within the cathedral setting, and that is as a reminder of the relic of the *Sancta Camisia*. Only on very rare occasions did medieval pilgrims have occasion to view the relics of a given site.⁹⁷ The fragmentary survival and minute scale of most saintly remains required considerable imaginative projection on the part of the beholder, who would "see" a relic through the intermediary of its encasing reliquary,⁹⁸ and often in a fleeting and ephemeral context such as a feast-day procession. The reliquary of the *Sancta Camisia* was more accessible than most, because in the thirteenth century the "Sainte Châsse" was placed within its reliquary on a special tribune near and above the main altar within the choir screen, in an area largely reserved for the clergy. In an account of 1210, Philip Augustus is described as "passing devoutly and with humility beneath the reliquary of the *Sancta Camisia*," but this cannot have been a privilege extended to many laity.⁹⁹ As Claudine Lautier points out, it was the monumental art, including sculpture, wall paintings, textiles, and most especially stained glass that affirmed the presence of the relics a church possessed.¹⁰⁰ Further, pointing out that the celebration of the Divine Office began shortly after midnight, and thus that the liturgical readings would precede the physical revelation of the events in glass, Caviness observed, "Narratives in windows cannot operate like illustrations to the readings of the life of the saint."¹⁰¹ Thus the commemorative role of many stained glass windows is both less concrete than commonly supposed in that they seldom provided the immediate visual reinforcement for liturgical readings, and yet more

specific because they instantiate the sacred but largely remote relics of church treasures and restricted access.

In this regard, it is interesting to observe how each section of the window returns to the form of the *Sancta Camisia* or to the intercessory role of relics. In the lowest central scene of the furriers (panel #1; figure 6.2), a cloth not unlike the sacred garment is held up for viewing. Continuing on the central axis is the scene of Charlemagne offering forth relics in the form of a crown-shaped reliquary before an altar (panel #7; figure 6.6). The importance of Roland breaking his sword Durendal (panel #19; figure 6.11) with the relics embedded in its handle has already been alluded to. Whether the Mass of Saint Gilles occurred at the window apex (panel #22; figure 6.15) or below (at panel #16), the scroll produced from heaven that grants pardon to Charlemagne by naming his sin invokes the medieval beholder's experience of relics. The scroll itself recalls the small hand lettered scraps of parchment that named and authenticated medieval relics.¹⁰² Like a relic, the scroll serves as a tangible link between the heavenly and mortal realms. As one follows the scenes up the window, the references to relics become increasingly oblique: from a garment in the lowest panel near the viewer, to a crown reliquary presented by Charlemagne, to Roland's sword hilt that served as a reliquary, to, in the current sequence, the relic-like scroll that compares to the authenticating scraps of parchment in medieval reliquaries.¹⁰³

This reading of the window raises an important point regarding the upper portions of the window: it would seem at first to be primarily the lowest third of the window (figure 6.4), where Charlemagne is shown taking possession of relics from the Holy Land, that informed the conception of the window. Yet, besides the references to relics that we have traced throughout the entire window, the importance of the upper scenes cannot be discounted. The scenes involving Roland undeniably contribute to the whole in making Charlemagne memorable and connective to stories and performances familiar to the beholder.¹⁰⁴ Crucial in this regard are studies that emphasize how the medieval church in this period used art as part of its outreach to vernacular culture. Kemp stresses a new "communicability" in the way Gothic window subjects engage the beholder as visual narrative,¹⁰⁵ while Caviness's complementary observations refer to Gothic window subjects "as a Bible transformed into popular romance, more vividly reflecting contemporary sociological structures than esoteric spiritual truths."¹⁰⁶ These analyses would have us understand that the pictorial techniques and entertainment value of the windows are vital to their iconological function.¹⁰⁷

Although the Charlemagne window is exceptional in many respects, there is a window found in many Gothic glazing programs that resembles aspects of its conception and structure, and that is the Tree of Jesse. The imagery has become so familiar that one can forget how cerebral it is. Above all, the meaning of the Tree of Jesse is based on the genealogical understanding that links Jesus to the kings and prophets of the Hebrew Bible.¹⁰⁸ As Michael Camille noted, it is an image that “presupposes a scriptural order and [literate] mentality.”¹⁰⁹ Its representation never could have served the lay visitor without assistance, for no one hearing Isaiah 11:1 for the first time, which describes a flowering rod rising out of the root of Jesse, would picture the figural genealogical schema that has become the canonical Gothic stained glass representation. Similar to the Charlemagne window, the Tree of Jesse telescopes disparate figures and events symbolically to underscore a particular conception of events. Yet as is also the case for the Charlemagne window, there is no single text that dictates the form of the window. For the average lay viewer to comprehend such a window, guidance through the liturgy and related ceremonies would be essential.

One can gain a clear picture of an activated medieval devotional environment through the Introit tropes sung at the celebration of the mass at Chartres Cathedral preserved in a thirteenth-century gradual. As Margot Fassler has demonstrated, these tropes, which celebrate the arrival of the bishop and compare that advent to Christ’s, involve themes key to the apprehension of the Tree of Jesse imagery such as the comparison of liturgical events to scriptural ones, and the juxtaposition of those who knew that Christ would come yet could not see him and those faithful who did see and recognize him.¹¹⁰ For the Charlemagne window, the extant para-liturgical materials, namely the practices of gift-giving and touching the shrine as one went off to battle, and the events relayed in the Latin *Miracles of Notre-Dame* and Old French verses, are suggestive of the ways the rich history contained in the window could be taught and enacted within the community.¹¹¹ Certainly, the recounting of the relic’s survival from the devastating fire of 1194, described in both *Miracles* texts, is one way the window’s underlying meanings could be activated for beholders.¹¹²

The Charlemagne window is not a saint’s window, nor is it primarily donor-driven, literary, or political, though its original conception might have been enhanced by any of these associations. The window is a genealogy of the chief relic of the *Sancta Camisia* of Chartres Cathedral, a product of the same generation of canons that produced the *Miracles of Notre Dame*. The Charlemagne window takes its place among those dedicated to foundational figures in the choir, because it communicates

the antiquity of its lineage through the relic Charlemagne bestowed on it. In offering a history of that gift, as Pintard astutely recognized, the Charlemagne window memorably proclaims Chartres Cathedral's special claim to grace.

Notes

1. See Elizabeth Carson Pastan, "Glazing Medieval Buildings," in *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, ed. Conrad Rudolph (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 2006), pp. 443–4 and 454 where the diagnostic importance of the extant glazing at Chartres is discussed and qualified.
2. Estimates vary on the precise number of medieval windows extant at Chartres Cathedral, depending in part about how one counts the total number of apertures, but there is consensus about the extent of surviving medieval glass. Canon Yves Delaporte in his seminal work, *Les Vitraux de la cathédrale de Chartres: Histoire et description*, vol. 1 (Chartres: É. Hovet, 1926), pp. 6–7 suggested that there were 173 medieval windows, though his plan, I: 526, fig. 68 and listing of windows, I: 529–32, indicates more. Elizabeth Carson Pastan and Mary B. Shepard, "The Torture of Saint George Medallion from Chartres Cathedral in Princeton," *Record of the Art Museum of Princeton University* 56 (1997), p. 28 n. 2 offer the figure 173 medieval windows out of a total of 186, a figure also in Claudine Lautier, "Les vitraux de la cathédrale de Chartres, Reliques et images," *Bulletin monumental* 161 (2003): 77 n. 6 (hereafter cited as Lautier, "Reliques et images"). The inventory of the windows of Chartres Cathedral compiled by Claudine Lautier in *Corpus Vitrearum France, Les vitraux de centre et des pays de la Loire, Recensement des vitraux anciens de la France, II* (Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1981), pp. 25–45 (hereafter cited as Recensement II), merely states p. 25 that there are "over one hundred windows," based on its system that counts 143 windows total. Peter Kurmann and Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz, "Chartres Cathedral as a Work of Artistic Integration: Methodological Reflections," in *Artistic Integration in Gothic Buildings*, ed. Virginia Chieffo Raguin, et al. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), p. 145 n. 10 refer to 150 medieval windows out of 173 openings; Wolfgang Kemp, *The Narratives of Gothic Stained Glass*, trans. Caroline Dobson Saltzwedel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 3, cites 152 remaining windows out of a total of 185.
3. For the program at Bourges, see Louis Grodecki, "Le 'Maître du Bon Samaritain' de la cathédrale de Bourges," in *The Year 1200: A Symposium* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1975), pp. 339–59 and Recensement II, 168–85; for Canterbury, Madeline H. Caviness, *The Early Stained Glass of Canterbury Cathedral* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977). While the glass at Canterbury

- (c. 1175–1215) is somewhat earlier, the glazing programs at Chartres and Bourges date to the first quarter of the thirteenth century. For an overview of dating considerations at Chartres, see Colette Manhes-Deremble, *Les vitraux narratifs de la cathédrale de Chartres, étude iconographique*, Corpus Vitrearum France, Etudes II (Paris: Leopard d'Or, 1993), pp. 9–17.
4. See discussion of the notion of “program” in Alyce A. Jordan, Review of Colette Manhes-Deremble, *Les vitraux narratifs de la cathédrale de Chartres* in *Speculum* 72 (1997): 524–5.
 5. Singled out in Recensement II, p. 27.
 6. Folz, *Souvenir*, 159–234.
 7. Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend, Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan, vol. 2 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 377.
 8. Delaporte, *Vitraux de la cathédrale de Chartres*, 314.
 9. Manhes-Deremble, *Les vitraux narratifs*, 62, 75–113; the cases of Remigius and Blaise are noted in Delaporte, *Vitraux de la cathédrale de Chartres*, 15.
 10. Manhes-Deremble, *Les vitraux narratifs*, 76.
 11. Manhes-Deremble, *Les vitraux narratifs*, 77. Her analyses thus nuance the traditional explanation articulated by Emile Mâle, *Religious Art in France: The Thirteenth Century, A Study of Medieval Iconography and its Sources*, trans. Marthiel Mathews (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), p. 314, that “relics in the possession of the churches contributed, more than anything else, to the multiplication of saints’ images.”
 12. A. Frezet, “La Saint-Charlemagne,” *La Vie et les Arts Liturgiques* 142 (1926): 580–6; and Robert Folz, “Aspects du culte liturgique de Saint Charlemagne en France,” in *Karl der Grosse, Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, ed. Wolfgang Braunsfels and Percy Ernst Schramm, vol. 4 (Düsseldorf, 1967), pp. 77–99.
 13. This type of saint’s life is well illustrated by the window of Saint James, in aperture #5 of the French Corpus Vitrearum system in Recensement II, p. 26 fig. 10. See Delaporte, *Vitraux de la cathédrale de Chartres*, 307–13 for Saint Jacques, where the window is “baie 37,” according to Delaporte’s system. Manhes-Deremble, *Les vitraux narratifs*, 296–7, has a concordance between the numbering systems of Delaporte and the Corpus Vitrearum. Unless otherwise indicated, apertures will be indicated by the Corpus Vitrearum numbering system.
 14. See Delaporte, *Vitraux de la cathédrale de Chartres*, 266–71 (saint Rémi in his “baie 28”); 273–81 (saint Silvestre in his “baie 30”). These correspond to windows 12 and 8 in the Corpus Vitrearum numbering system.
 15. Manhes-Deremble, *Les vitraux narratifs*, 256. Note that two of the choir windows near the Charlemagne window, apertures three and ten, were

- replaced in the later thirteenth century by grisailles. Manhes-Deremble argues persuasively, *Les vitraux narratifs*, 59–61, that these were likely dedicated to Saint Peter and Saint Denis, respectively. On the later grisailles, see Meredith Parsons Lillich, “A Redating of the Thirteenth-Century Grisaille Windows of Chartres Cathedral,” *Gesta* 11 (1972): 11–18.
16. Delaporte, *Vitraux de la cathédrale de Chartres*, 318, who notes the alternate form, “Carrolus.”
 17. Delaporte, *Vitraux de la cathédrale de Chartres*, 273–81.
 18. Herbert L. Kessler, “Gregory the Great and Image Theory in Northern Europe during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries,” in *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, ed. Conrad Rudolph (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 2006), pp. 160–3 and figs. 7–4, uses the Charlemagne window as an example of the “redirection of the Gregorian dicta toward the laity.”
 19. In general see Robert Branner, Review of Pierre du Colombier, “Les Chantiers de cathédrales,” *Art Bulletin* 37 (1955): 61–5 where he estimates that stained glass windows cost as much as the building that contained them.
 20. The analyses undertaken at the time of cleaning confirm that the window is in an excellent state of preservation. The restoration chart has not been published and I am therefore especially grateful to Claudine Lautier for discussing the window condition with me and allowing me to view the superb documentary images of the window taken at the time of its cleaning.
 21. “*Tuitioni et refectiōni*” quoted in *Abbot Suger on the abbey church of St.-Denis and its Art Treasures*, ed. and trans. Erwin Panofsky (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1979), pp. 76–7; and Sarah Brown and David O’Connor, *Glass-Painters* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1991), pp. 16–18.
 22. Delaporte, *Vitraux de la cathédrale de Chartres*, 313: “*Chasseur lui aussi*.” This is also the explanation given in Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l’art chrétien*, vol. 1 (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1958), p. 296.
 23. Manhes-Deremble, *Les vitraux narratifs*, 26–8, offers instances where a connection between the saint and the workers does exist and examples where it does not, suggesting a more flexible patronage model is needed.
 24. Jane Welch Williams, *Bread, Wine and Money: The Windows of the Trades at Chartres Cathedral* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), pp. 3–18, with further bibliography, and my review of it in *Medievalia et humanistica* 21 (1995): 202–5. For an overview of the literature, see Pastan and Shepard, “Torture,” 27, and Jordan, Review of Manhes-Deremble, 526.
 25. Stephen G. Nichols, *Romanesque Signs, Early Medieval Narrative and Iconography* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1983), p. 143.
 26. Nichols, *Romanesque Signs*, 138–46.

27. Kemp, *Narratives*, 119.
28. Kemp, *Narratives*, 134. Kemp's approach is underscored independently by Madeline H. Caviness, "Biblical Stories in Windows: Were they Bibles for the Poor?" in *The Bible in the Middle Ages: Its Influence on Literature and Art*, ed. Bernard S. Levy (Binghamton, NY: Medieval & Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1992), esp. pp. 115–18, who draws attention to the relatively small number of straightforward biblical accounts in thirteenth-century glazing programs.
29. Manhes-Deremble, *Les vitraux narratifs*, 255, makes the point that Constantine, baie 8, is not portrayed as a warrior.
30. Manhes-Deremble, *Les vitraux narratifs*, 258–60. See Carolyn M. Carty, "The Role of Medieval Dream Images in Authenticating Ecclesiastical Construction," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 62 (1999): 73 n. 118 for a useful critique of Mahnes-Deremble's argument, questioning her early dating of the window (close to the receipt of relics at Chartres in 1204) and her argument that the iconography of the shrine at Aachen responds to the Chartres window.
31. R. W. Southern, "The Schools of Paris and the School of Chartres," in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), pp. 113–37 demonstrates how already in the late twelfth century, Chartres ceded prominence to Paris. André Chédeville, *Chartres et ses campagnes (XIe–XIIIe s.)* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1973), pp. 505–25 makes a similar point using different evidence.
32. Chédeville, *Chartres et ses campagnes*, 518, 524; Williams, *Bread*, 32 on Philippe Augustus's contribution of 200L to the building campaign, evidently as a result of his being called in to adjudicate the riot of 1210. His visit is described in E. de Lépinos and Lucien Merlet, *Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Chartres*, vol. 2 (Chartres: Garnier, 1862), no. 203, pp. 56–62.
33. Caviness, "Biblical Stories," 145–7 plays out the possible different kinds of reception by disparate viewers of the Joseph window at Chartres.
34. The Charlemagne window is in baie 7. See Recensement II, pp. 26 and 28, where it is noted that the window is 9.03m in height.
35. On the choir screen, see Claudine Lautier, "The Sacred Topography of Chartres Cathedral: The Reliquary Chasse of the Virgin in the Liturgical Choir and Stained Glass Decoration," in *The Four Modes of Seeing: Approaches to Medieval Imagery in Honor of Madeline Harrison Caviness*, ed. Evelyn Staudinger Lane, Elizabeth Carson Pastan, and Ellen M. Shortell (Ashgate: forthcoming).
36. Manhes-Deremble, *Les vitraux narratifs*, 60–1 offers other examples of how the Charlemagne window fits in the overall themes of choir windows.
37. As relayed in the Pseudo-Turpin. See *The Pseudo-Turpin, Edited from Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Latin, MS. 17656*, ed. H. M. Smyser

- (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1937), p. 47; Folz, *Souvenir*, 225; Amy G. Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past: Monastic Foundation Legends in Medieval France* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995), p. 151. Baudouin de Gaiffier, "La Légende de Charlemagne, Le péché de l'empereur et son pardon," in *Recueil de Travaux offert à M. Clovis Brunel*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1955), p. 495 n. 4 notes a variant recension of the Vision of Turpin in which Saint Denis shares the honors with Saint James.
38. Folz, *Souvenir*, 217–19, 223–25 addressing the contributions of the Pseudo-Turpin to the legacy of Charlemagne. On later portrayals of Charlemagne see Anne D. Hedeman, *The Royal Image, Illustrations of the Grandes Chroniques de France, 1274–1422* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), pp. 17–22. Charlemagne is not viewed in this period as the moral exemplar he would become in *The Grandes Chroniques*. See the translated text of the life of Charlemagne, which serves as the third volume of the *Grandes Chroniques*, in *A Thirteenth-Century Life of Charlemagne*, ed. Robert Levine (New York: Garland, 1971). As Levine notes, p. x, this text adds considerably to Charlemagne's "odor of sanctity." Among other changes, Roland is characterized as a "blessed martyr," and is simply portrayed as Charlemagne's nephew (p. 102).
 39. Duncan Robertson, "Visual Poetics: The Charlemagne Window at Chartres," *Olifant* 6 (1978): 107, 112. Note that Isabelle Rolland, "Le mythe carolingien et l'art du vitrail: sur le choix et l'ordre des épisodes dans le vitrail de Charlemagne à la cathédrale de Chartres," in *La chanson de geste et le mythe carolingien, Mélanges René Louis*, vol. 1 (Saint-Père-sous-Vézelay: Musée archéologique régional, 1982): pp. 255–57 makes a case that the window is best read from right to left. Also Caviness, "Biblical Stories," 122–24; and Kemp, *Narratives*, 22–31. For a very clear visual presentation of the window, see Francois Garnier, *Le vitrail XIIIe siècle, l'histoire de Charlemagne* (Paris: Éditions du Sénevé, 1969).
 40. *Descriptio qualiter karolus magnus* written ca. 1080–1095. Published in Gerhard Rauschen, *Die Legende Karls des Grossen im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1890), pp. 45–66, 121–25 (after Paris BN MS lat. 12710); and Ferdinand Castets "Iter hierosolymitanum," *Revue des Langues romanes* 36 (1892): 417–86 (after Montpellier H 280). On the *Descriptio* in general, see Folz, *Souvenir*, 179–81.
 41. Bernard de Montfaucon, *Les Monumens de la monarchie françoise, qui comprennent l'histoire de France, avec les figures de chaque règne qui l'injure des tems a épargnées*, I (Paris: J.M. Gandouin, 1729): pl. XXIV–XV (the Charlemagne panels), and L–LIV (scenes from the First Crusade). Others have remarked upon the similarities between the Saint-Denis and Chartres windows. See Delaporte, *Vitraux de la cathédrale de Chartres*, 314;

- Jacques Stiennon and Rita Lejeune, *The Legend of Roland in the Middle Ages*, trans. Christine Trollope, vol. 1 (New York: Phaidon, 1971), p. 192; and Mahnes-Deremble, *Les vitraux narratifs*, 261, who also mentions the similarity of the Siege of Pamplona at Chartres to the Taking of Nicea at Saint-Denis.
42. Elizabeth A. R. Brown and Michael W. Cothren, "The Twelfth-Century Crusading window of the Abbey of Saint-Denis: Praeteritorum enim recordatio futurorum est exhibitio," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 49 (1986), fig. 1 and discussion pp. 6–7, 13–15. Also note their remarks p. 13 n. 59 addressing the logic behind their reconstruction.
 43. Brown and Cothren, "The Twelfth-Century Crusading window," 14.
 44. Brown and Cothren, "The Twelfth-Century Crusading window," 24–6, which forms part of their argument, as developed pp. 32–3, that the window may have originated instead during the abbacy of Odo of Deuil (1151–62).
 45. These include the Crown of Thorns, a nail and morsel of the True Cross, Christ's shroud, the garment of the Virgin, and the arm of Simeon, as listed in Ferdinand Castets "Iter hierosolymitanum," *Revue des Langues romanes* 36 (1892): 458–61. See John L. Grigsby, "The Relics' Rôle in the *Voyage de Charlemagne*," *Olifant* 9 (1981): 31 who compares the relics in the *Descriptio qualiter* to the relics obtained in the *Le Voyage de Charlemagne*. See *The Pilgrimage of Charlemagne*, ed. and trans. Glyn S. Burgess (New York: Garland, 1988).
 46. For a concise summary of the decorative program of the Shrine of Charlemagne, see Folz, *Souvenir*, 280–2; Stiennon and Lejeune, *Legend of Roland*, 169–77 and pl. VI; also vol. 2, figs. 143–52, who argue that Roland, though not identified in the inscriptions, is present in two of the scenes. See the review of their work by D. J. A. Ross, "The Iconography of Roland," *Medium Aevum* 37 (1968): 46–65, stressing admiration for the documentation they assemble, and skepticism about a number of their interpretations. Also Carty, "Role of Medieval Dream Images," 66–7, n. 96, with further bibliography. Now see Ernst Günther Grimme, "Das Bildprogramm des Aachener Karlsschreins," in *Karl der Grosse und sein Schrein in Aachen: eine Festschrift*, ed. Hans Müllejan (Aachen: B. Kühlen, 1988), pp. 124–35, with excellent and complete accompanying images.
 47. Eduard Arens, "Die Inschriften am Karlsschrein," *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins* 43 (1921): 183–6; Folz, *Souvenir*, 282, interprets the second scene as the confirmation of the authenticity of the relics. On the *Vita Karoli Magni*, which was the life composed for Charlemagne's canonization, see discussion in Folz, *Souvenir*, 213–21 and the edition by Rauschen, *Die Legende*, 17–125.
 48. Manhes-Deremble, *Les vitraux narratifs*, 259–60 for comparison of the two cycles.

49. Cyril Meredith-Jones, *Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholani ou Chronique du Pseudo-Turpin, texts revus et publiés d'après 49 manuscrits* (Paris: Droz, 1936) and the useful synopsis in Smyser. For a close reading of the Pseudo-Turpin against the Charlemagne window, see Clark Maines, "The Charlemagne Window at Chartres Cathedral: New Considerations on Text and Image," *Speculum* 52 (1977): 801–23. On the extant MSS of the Pseudo-Turpin, see Smyser, 1–3 and Folz, *Souvenir*, 235–7, and the overview in Remensnyder, *Remembering*, 151 n. 3, with further bibliography, who concludes that the Pseudo-Turpin likely originated in northern France in the first half of the twelfth century. Elizabeth A.R. Brown, "Saint-Denis and the Turpin Legend," in *The Codex Calixtinus and the Shrine of St. James*, ed. John Williams and Alison Stones (Tübingen: G. Narr, 1992), pp. 51–88, provides a useful historiography and argues that the abbey adopted the text, but that it was not invented there. On the later translation of the Pseudo-Turpin into vernacular prose history as "a mediated criticism of Capetian kingship by a group of Flemish aristocrats" see Gabrielle M. Spiegel, "Pseudo-Turpin, the crisis of the aristocracy and the beginnings of vernacular historiography in France," *Journal of Medieval History* 12 (1986): 207–23.
50. Carty, "Role of Medieval Dream Images," 68–73.
51. Now available in facsimile: *Jacobus: Codex Calixtinus de la Catedral de Santiago de Compostela* (Madrid: Kaydeda, 1993). See Alison Stones, "Four Illustrated Jacobus Manuscripts," in *The Vanishing past, Studies of Medieval Art: Liturgy and Metrology Presented to Christopher Hohler*, ed. Alan Borg and Andrew Martindale (Oxford: B.A.R., 1981), pp. 179–222; Stones, "The Decoration and Illumination of the Codex Calixtinus at Santiago de Compostela," in *The Codex Calixtinus and the Shrine of St. James*, ed. John Williams and Alison Stones (Tübingen: G. Narr, 1992), pp. 137–84; and Stiennon and Lejeune, *Legend of Roland*, 51–60 and vol. 2, figs. 30–34. Stones, "Four Illustrated," 198, and pl. 14.6–14.7 notes that the Dream of Saint James in the twelfth-century Jacobus MS was restored poorly in 1964–1966; but the fourteenth-century Vatican image (Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Arch. S. Pietro, ms. C128, f. 133v) in Stiennon and Lejeune, *Legend of Roland*, II: fig. 32 is a clear example of the type. Hedeman, *Royal Image*, 18 and fig. 5, notes that images from the Calixtinus tradition recur in the Charlemagne sequence of the later *Grandes Chroniques de France*. Also Stiennon and Lejeune, *Legend of Roland*, I: 276–94.
52. Remensnyder, *Remembering*, 152–53; also see Henri Treuille, "Les églises fondées par Charlemagne den l'honneur de Saint Jacques d'après le Pseudo-Turpin," in *La chanson de geste et le mythe carolingien, Mélanges René Louis*, vol. 2 (Saint-Père-sous-Vézelay: Musée archéologique régional, 1982), pp. 1151–61.

53. Maines, "Charlemagne Window," 811–12; Carty, "Role of Medieval Dream Images," 70.
54. Mâle, *Religious Art in France*, 343 assumed that the different textual sources had been collected into a single work in the possession of the canons of Chartres.
55. Rolland, "Le mythe carolingien," 269, insists that the designer of the window did not work from texts but from the accounts of pilgrims visiting the shrine of Saint James.
56. See Robertson, "Visual Poetics," 115–16. For a useful methodological discussion of textual and pictorial sources, see Madeline Harrison Caviness, "Suger's Glass at Saint-Denis: The State of Research," in *Abbot Suger and Saint-Denis, A Symposium*, ed. Paula Lieber Gerson (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1986), pp. 262–4.
57. See the sculpture of Roland from Verona, where the sword carries an inscription, DURINDAL, discussed in Stiennon and Lejeune, *Legend of Roland*, I: 63–6 and II: fig. 40. However there is no Durendal inscription in the Chartres window, as implied in Kessler, "Gregory the Great," 161.
58. La Chanson de Roland, trans. Gerald J. Brault (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1984), ll. 2338–54.
59. Robertson, "Visual Poetics," 115, mentions a visual connection between these two scenes that involve relics, noting that in the scene of Charlemagne offering relics (see fig. 7), there is an oliphant above Charlemagne's head.
60. Published in Alphonse-Napoléon Didron, "Mélanges et nouvelles: Charlemagne et Roland," *Annales Archéologiques* 24 (1864): 349–51; and reproduced in Emile Mâle, *The Gothic Image: Religious Art in France of the Thirteenth Century*, trans. Dora Nussey (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), pp. 349 and 351.
61. Maines, "Charlemagne Window," 815, identifies the enemy combatant as either the giant Ferracutus or the treacherous King Marsile, or possibly a conflation of Roland's battles with these two archenemies of Christendom.
62. Maines, "Charlemagne Window," 822.
63. Manhes-Deremble, *Les vitraux narratifs*, 222 argues that the Mass of St. Gilles was "probably" meant to be at the window apex, while adding n. 758, that it is controversial. In her dissertation, Colette Manhes-Deremble, "Etude iconographique des verrières basses de la cathédrale de Chartres," vol. 2 (Paris, 1989), p. 1248 states her belief that the battle of Roland was not originally at the apex of the window.
64. AASS, 9 September, pp. 299–304, esp. 302–3. On Saint Gilles, see Fred Brittain, *Saint Giles* (Cambridge: W. Heffer, 1928), esp. pp. 11–13 for the story of the Mass of Saint Giles; 19–21 on the topos of pardoning an unconfessed sin; and 22–4 on the anachronisms in the vita, including the fact that Gilles (died c. 719) could not possibly be a contemporary of

Charlemagne (d. 814). Réau, *Iconographie*, III/II: s.v. "Gilles," 593 assumes the sinner is Charles Martel.

65. See Elizabeth Archibald, *Incest and the Medieval Imagination* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), pp. 200–2, with further bibliography. Rita Lejeune, "Le Pêché de Charlemagne et la *Chanson de Roland*," in *Studia Philologica: Homenaje Ofrecido à Dámaso Alonso*, vol. 2 (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1961), pp. 339–71 argues that Charlemagne's "sin" was always known, even if not explicitly stated, and explains otherwise enigmatic passages of the *Chanson de Roland*.
66. Réau, *Iconographie*, 111/II: s.v. "Gilles," 595 notes that the subject was condemned by the Council of Trent (c. 1545–63) because absolution was granted before confession.
67. Nonetheless, Saint Gilles was a figure of some importance at Chartres and was also found in a twelfth-century lectionary (Chartres, Bibliothèque MS 500, f. 164v), which had an office of Saint Gilles attributed to Bishop Fulbert (1007–1029). It was destroyed in the fire of 1944. Discussed in Delaporte, *Vitraux de la cathédrale de Chartres*, 510, n. 1; Maines, "Charlemagne Window," 804; and Mahnes-Deremble, *Les vitraux narratifs*, 222. In addition, there are three thirteenth-century representations in the cathedral: on the archivolts of the right south transept portal (see Willibald Sauerländer, *Gothic Sculpture in France, 1140–1270*, trans. Janet Sondheim [London: Thames & Hudson, 1972], p. 433 and fig. 118); in a clerestory window in the nave with the inscription, EGIDI[US] (see Delaporte, *Vitraux de la cathédrale de Chartres*, 510, baie CLXII and plates, III: CCLXVII and Recensement II, 42, baie 133 [with concordance to Delaporte's numbering]); and in the frescoes of the subterranean chapel of Saint Clement (see Malcolm Miller, *Chartres Cathedral* [New York: Riverside Books, 1991], p. 6).
68. Mahnes-Deremble, *Les vitraux narratifs*, 258. Many scholars, including Rolland, "Le mythe carolingien," 269, have suggested that the textual congruencies are not to be seen as sources that determined the window's design.
69. One could imagine a number of ways to tie together the narratives, including Charlemagne's lament over Roland's slain body, noted in Rolland, "Le mythe carolingien," 269; or the struggle between angels and devils for Charlemagne's soul relayed in the Pseudo-Turpin. This so-called Vision of Turpin is one of the three scenes of Charlemagne on the "noeud" of the scepter of Charles V: see *Le trésor de Saint-Denis (cat.)*, ed. Danielle Gaborit-Chopin and Daniel Alcouffe. (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1991), pp. 265–71 esp. p. 266, fig. 57d.
70. Folz, *Souvenir*, 458: "Charlemagne historique a été de plus en plus abandonné pour un Charlemagne idéal, produit des croyances et des aspirations diverses."

71. Eugene Vance, "Semiotics and Power: Relics, icons, and the *Voyage de Charlemagne à Jerusalem et à Constantinople*," in *The New Medievalism* ed. Marina S. Brownlee et al. (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), pp. 232–3. Besides the work of Remensnyder and Hedeman, on the many ways that Charlemagne came to embody a multitude of contradictory discourses, see: Paul Freedman, "Cowardice, heroism and the legendary Origins of Catalonia," *Past and Present* 121 (1988): 3–28 esp. 7–8; and Gabrielle Spiegel, *Romancing the Past: The Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in Thirteenth-Century France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).
72. See Lucien Merlet, *Catalogue des Reliques & Joyaux de Notre-Dame de Chartres* (Chartres: Garnier, 1885), pp. 82–92, which publishes the first inventory of the treasury of Chartres compiled in 1322; the complete discussion in Charles Challine, *Recherches sur Chartres* (Chartres: Société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir, 1918), pp. 167–78; and now Lautier, "Reliques et images."
73. For the Latin text, see the transcription after Vatican MS Regina 339 in Antoine Thomas, "Les miracles de Notre-Dame de Chartres," *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole de chartes* XLII (1881): 509–50. For the French verse, *Jean le Marchant, Miracles de Notre-Dame de Chartres*, ed. Pierre Kunstmann (Ottawa: Éditions de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1973). Note that Kunstmann parallels Jean le Marchant's verses with the older text by including the Latin text at the bottom of each page. Also see Dawn Marie Hayes, "Birth, Flesh & Bodies: The Construction of Sacred Space in *The Miracles of Our Lady of Chartres*," *Medieval Perspectives* 14 (1999): 98–114.
74. Thomas, "Les miracles," 509, Miracle III: "insigni et sacrosancta camisia, quam eadem virgo dum Dei filium suo gestaret in utero induit, et quam ipsa in puerperio."
75. *Jean le Marchant*, ed. Kunstmann, 69: "Que la chemise, ce me semble,/ Toucha la l'un et l'autre ensemble./Donce c'est arguement necessaire/ Que c'est le plus haut saintuaire/ Qu'en nul leu puisse estre trevez;/ Par miracles est esprovez."
76. Thomas, "Les miracles," 549, Miracle XXVIII, where it is stated that "quam a Constantinopoli ibi allatam unus ex Karolis, qui Calvus dictus est" bestowed the relic on Chartres. For the French verse, see *Jean le Marchant*, ed. Kunstmann, 218: "Lor prindrent la seinte chemise/A la mere Dé, qui fu prise/ Jadis dedenz Constentinoble./ Precieus don en fist et noble/ A Chartres un grant roi de France:/Challes le Chauff ot non d'enfance." Also see discussion of the Miracles in Chédeville, *Chartres et ses campagnes*, 509–12, including map p. 511 plotting the sites where miracles occurred; Williams, 330–2.
77. Annemarie Weyl Carr, "Threads of Authority: The Virgin Mary's Veil in the Middle Ages" in *Robes and Honor: The Medieval World of Investiture*, ed. Stewart Gordon (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), p. 71 and

- n. 85–6 state that the first inventory at Aachen was compiled “no earlier than the late twelfth century and so not long before the apse of 1238,” and mentions a *velum* of Mary.
78. This is the tradition referred to by the influential seventeenth-century historian, Vincent Sablon in his *Histoire de l'auguste et vénérable église de Chartres dédiée par les ancien Druides à une vierge qui devoit enfante: Tirée des manuscrites et des originaux de cette église* (Orléans: Petrot-Garnier, 1671); brief translation in *Chartres Cathedral*, ed. Robert Branner (New York: Norton, 1969), pp. 107–12. On the popularity of Sablon's work, itself an abridged version of Sébastien Rouillard's *Parthénie* published in 1609, see Jan van der Meulen, Rüdiger Hoyer, and Deborah Cole, *Chartres: Sources and Literary Interpretations: A Critical Bibliography* (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1989), pp. 6–7, 214–16, and 620–2.
 79. Dudo of St Quentin (ca. 994–1015), *History of the Normans*, trans. Eric Christiansen (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell & Brewer, 1998), pp. 42–4; adopted from Dudo by William of Jumièges (ca. 1000–ca. 1070) in *The Gesta Normannorum Ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis and Robert of Torigni*, ed. and trans. Elisabeth M. C. Van Houts, vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 31, 63; recounted in verse (by Wace c. 1100–75) in *Le Roman de Rou de Wace*, ed. A.J. Holden, vol. 1 (Paris: Picard, 1970), pp. 43–4; and adopted by William of Malmesbury (c. 1090–1143), *Gesta regum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. by R. A. B. Mynors, completed by R. M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom, vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998–9), pp. 200–1. For the origin of the topos underlying the Siege of Chartres in the East, see J. C. Jennings, “Origins of The ‘Elements Series’ of the Miracles of the Virgin,” *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies* 6 (1968): 84–93, esp. 86–8; and Carr, “Threads,” 61 and 71–3.
 80. See Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, vol. 2, 82.
 81. Lépineois and Merlet, *Cartulaire*, 11–12, 46.
 82. On the expulsion of Louis VI, see Chédeville, *Chartres et ses campagnes*, 509; on the call to rebuild after fire of 1194, see Thomas, “Les miracles,” 510 and the brief English translation quoted in *Chartres*, ed. Branner, 95.
 83. William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum*, ed. Mynors, I: 200–1; *Jean le Marchant*, ed. Kunstmann, 218, quoted in n. 76 above.
 84. Remensnyder, *Remembering*, 150–82.
 85. Thomas, “Les miracles,” 549, quoted in n. 76 above.
 86. Carr, “Threads,” esp. 70–3.
 87. John F. Benton, *Self and Society in Medieval France: The memoirs of Abbot Guibert of Nogent (1064–c. 1125)* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), p. 85.
 88. Charles Rohault de Fleury, *La Sainte Vierge: Études archéologiques det iconographiques*, vol. 2 (Paris: Librairie Poussielgue Frères, 1878), pp. 209–10.

89. Carr, "Threads," 73 n. 101. Description in Lépinos and Merlet, *Cartulaire*, vol. 1, 59 n. 1: "deux morceaux de soie blanche écrue, dont l'un est long de 2,12 m pour une largeur de 40cm, l'autre, beaucoup plus petit, ne mesure que 25 cm de long sur 24 de large." Moreover, as reported in *Histoire de Chartres et du pays chartrain*, ed. André Chédeville (Toulouse, 1983), pp. 61–2, an embroidered scarf that surrounded the Sainte Chemise, itself too rudimentary for conclusive technical analysis, pointed to Syrian work of the eighth–ninth centuries. Now see E. Jane Burns, "Saracen Silk and the Virgin's *Chemise*: Cultural Crossings in Cloth," *Speculum* 81 (2006): 365–97.
90. Lépinos and Merlet, *Cartulaire*, vol. 3, 221.
91. Lépinos and Merlet, *Cartulaire*, "Joyaux, Pierres" in their Introduction, I: cxlvi–cxlviii.
92. Lépinos and Merlet, *Cartulaire*, vol. 2, 59 and see n. 99 below.
93. Lépinos and Merlet, *Cartulaire*, vol. 2, 58–9.
94. "Que l'on dit estre l'histoire de la sainte Chemise," quoted in Delaporte, *Vitraux de la cathédrale de Chartres*, 314. Delaporte's citation is particularly important because he was able to consult all of Pintard's manuscript, "Histoire chronologique de la ville de Chartres," Chartres, Bibliothèque Municipale MS 1012, important portions of which were destroyed in the fire of the library that resulted from the bombing on 26 May 1944. On Pintard, see Delaporte, *Vitraux de la cathédrale de Chartres*, 38. 40; van der Meulen, *Chartres*, 7, 410–2.
95. Patrick J. Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978), pp. 126–8. A number of studies have pointed to events in Carolingian period, which had important repercussions for the cult of relics and for Chartres. See Geary, *Furta Sacra*, 35–43 on the promotion of the cult of relics by the Carolingians; and Chédeville, *Chartres et ses campagnes*, 264 on the appointment as bishop of Chartres in 859–69 of Gislebert, an imperial notary who had spent thirty years at court, "c'est peut-être à ces relations que Notre-Dame dut de recevoir de l'empereur en 876 la relique insigne du voile de la Vierge."
96. Gaston Paris, *Histoire poétique de Charlemagne* (Paris: A. Frank, 1865), pp. 53–66, esp. 54, emphasizes that the idea of Charlemagne's journey to the Holy Land was fostered by monks wishing to guarantee the authenticity of their relics.
97. This discussion is indebted to Lautier, "Reliques et images," esp. 30, 66–74.
98. See Lautier, "Reliques et images," p. 29, fig. 25 with a seventeenth-century engraving of the reliquary of the *Sancta Camisia*.
99. Lépinos and Merlet, *Cartulaire*, vol. 2, 59: "sub sacrosancto scrinio devote et humiler transitum faciens." The notion, implicit in this phrase, that the king passed *beneath* the reliquary contrasts to the passage on p. 57 where the relics are placed on the ground as part of the

- liturgy of humiliation because of the riot that had occurred in town. On this practice, see Patrick J. Geary, *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994), pp. 95–115.
100. Lautier, “Reliques et images,” 72–4. The Cartulary of Chartres refers to tapestries depicting the Incarnation that were hung in the right side of the choir, complemented by tapestries with the story of Saint Stephen on the left side, both given by the twelfth-century bishop from Champagne, William of the White Hands. See Lépinos and Merlet, *Cartulaire*, vol. 1, 21 and vol. 3, 169–70.
 101. Madeline Caviness, “Stained Glass Windows in Gothic Chapels, and the Feasts of the Saints,” in *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana: Kunst und Liturgie im Mittelalter*, ed. Nicolas Bock, Sible de Blaauw, Christoph Luitpold Frommel, and Herbert Kessler, vol. 33 (Münich: Hirmer, 2000), pp. 140–1.
 102. See the spectacular examples of these authenticating strips in the so-called Charlemagne’s Chessboard reliquary in Roncesvalles, Spain reproduced in Marie-Madeleine Gauthier, *Highways of the Faith: Relics and Reliquaries from Jerusalem to Compostela*, trans. J. A. Underwood (Secaucus, NJ: Wellfleet Press, 1986), p. 133. Gauthier explains, p. 131, that the reliquary itself may have been “renewed” early in the nineteenth century, though the forms of the parchment authentications follow medieval practices. Also see William Voelkle, *The Stavelot Triptych: Mosan Art and the Legend of the True Cross* (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, 1980), fig. 43 for medieval parchment inscriptions that were only discovered when the reliquary was conserved in 1973.
 103. Lautier, “Sacred Topography,” compares the entire window to such an authentication.
 104. This references Joseph Bédier’s thesis that the Old French chansons de geste were composed to amuse an itinerant public attracted to pilgrimage churches. See Joseph Bédier, *Les légendes épiques: Recherches sur l’évolution des chansons des geste*, vol. 4 (Paris: Champion, 1921), p. 155.
 105. Kemp, *Narratives*, 156.
 106. Caviness, “Biblical Stories,” 147.
 107. Kessler, “Gregory the Great,” 160–3.
 108. Arthur Watson, *The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse* (London: Oxford University Press, 1934). See also, with further bibliography, Elizabeth Carson Pastan, “‘And He Shall Gather Together The Dispersed’: The Tree of Jesse at Troyes Cathedral,” *Gesta* 37 (1998): 237.
 109. Michael Camille, “Seeing and Reading: Some Visual Implications of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy,” *Art History* 8 (1985): 34.
 110. Provins, Bibliothèque Municipale MS 12. See Margot Fassler, “Liturgy and Sacred History in the Tympana at Chartres,” *Art Bulletin* 75 (1993): 499–520.

111. See Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi, The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), esp. her Chapter 2, 83–163, the importance of which is suggested by its title, “Beyond Design: Teaching and Reception of the Eucharist.”
112. For this point, I am indebted to my colleague, Judith C. Rohrer.

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CHAPTER 7

CHARLEMAGNE AS CRUSADER? MEMORY, PROPAGANDA, AND THE MANY USES OF CHARLEMAGNE'S LEGENDARY EXPEDITION TO SPAIN

Jace Stuckey

Several twelfth-century sources embody an idealized image of chivalry, pilgrimage, kingship, and crusading to establish historical precedents for those ideas. Many of these types of texts depict Charlemagne as the idealized military leader of Christianity—greatest of Christian warriors and defender of Christendom.¹ What I propose to do in this chapter is to look at how Charlemagne's perceived connection to Jerusalem and his Spanish campaigns were used to transform his legend into the image of a crusader. This phenomenon is perhaps most dramatically illustrated in Ekkehard of Aura, who reported a story that circulated around the time of the First Crusade, in which Charlemagne actually rose from the dead to lead the campaign to the Holy Land.² Miraculous stories concerning Charlemagne's deeds from beyond the grave were not new. In the early eleventh century, Otto III had Charlemagne's tomb at Aachen opened, and the Italian count Otto of Lomello later reported that Charlemagne was found sitting on his throne, crowned, scepter in hand, while his hair and fingernails continued to grow.³ However, when war became, as Colin Morris describes it, "a virtue," it was not long before the twelfth- and thirteenth-century legendary deeds of Charlemagne became an exemplar of that virtue.⁴

The representation of Charlemagne as defender of the church and proto-crusader actually predates the launching of the crusades to the

East and the epic literary tradition of the twelfth century. One of the earliest instances is that of a source written ca. 968 by the Benedictine monk, Benedict of St. Andrew on Monte Soratte (outside Rome), which recounts a trip Charlemagne took to the Holy Land. There, he engaged in diplomatic relations with Muslim leaders and guaranteed “protective rights in Palestine” for Christian pilgrims.⁵ Charlemagne travels to the Holy Land with an army, but he is able to accomplish his goals without a fight.⁶

A second somewhat different story is recorded in the *Descriptio qualiter Karolus Magnus*, dated between 1080 and 1095, which tells another version of Charlemagne’s trip to the East.⁷ This voyage is not a peaceful diplomatic campaign, but it is rather a battle for control of the Holy Land that mirrors more closely the crusading tenor of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. According to the *Descriptio qualiter*, Muslim invaders attacked the emperor of Constantinople and patriarch of Jerusalem, who then ask for Charlemagne’s help in driving off the invaders. Charlemagne travels to the region to lift the siege and rescue his Christian brothers from the Muslim onslaught. In the *Descriptio qualiter*, Charlemagne is depicted as both a pilgrim and the defender of Christendom. Successful in his attempt to drive off the heathen armies, Charlemagne refuses the worldly gifts offered to him but eventually (reluctantly) requests that he be able to take some of the relics of the Passion back home to Aachen. The Byzantine emperor indeed gives Charles several relics, including thorns from the crown of thorns, a nail from the Cross, the Holy Shroud, one of St. Simeon’s arms, the clothes of the Christ-child, and a portion of the True Cross.⁸ Most of these eventually end up at Saint-Denis thanks to Charles the Bald, explaining one of the primary goals of the *Descriptio qualiter*, the authentication of certain relics that the abbey possessed.⁹ The text creates a link among the relics at Saint-Denis, the Capetian monarchy, and Holy Land by way of Charlemagne’s pilgrimage.¹⁰ But the narrative also does something else. In addition, by way of a militant expedition to the Holy Land, this text linked Charlemagne to the crusading ideal.¹¹

Rosamond McKitterick has argued in her *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* that the dissemination of history was used by Carolingian elites to shape a shared memory, as well as to construct a shared present.¹² A similar phenomenon took place during the Crusades, with various writers making a concerted effort to construct a memory about Charlemagne and his alleged crusading activity. By the time of the First Crusade, Charlemagne already had a reputation for military prowess and for protecting Christendom from encroaching enemies. In the twelfth century—primarily the first half—this process was accelerated by the dissemination of vernacular literature. By the middle of

that century, an image of the First Crusade had been established and the legend of Charlemagne was a part of that history.¹³

Allusions to Charlemagne in First Crusade sources are found in the anonymous *Gesta Francorum*, Robert the Monk's *Historia Hierosolimitana*, Ralph of Caen's *Gesta Tancredi*, William of Tyre's *Chronicon*, and the aforementioned work of Ekkehard of Aura. Although Charlemagne only appears intermittently in these crusade sources, he does appear consistently, and in a manner that is indicative of a pattern concerning his memory and representation during the era. Charlemagne was envisaged as the "prototypical" crusader, propagated as the model and progenitor for a "new" generation of crusaders. By combining material from Einhard's biography, the *Annales regni Francorum*, other subsequent chronicles, and the epic tradition twelfth-century authors were able to create a memory of Charlemagne as not just a former king and emperor, but one with a well-established connection to militant activities in the Holy Land.¹⁴ However, Charlemagne's imagined crusading efforts were not limited to campaigns in the Holy Land. In fact many, if not most, twelfth-century sources deal with Charlemagne's exploits in Spain.

There has been considerable debate among crusade historians as to the exact nature of the military campaigns outside the Holy Land and particularly in Spain.¹⁵ Wars against Muslims in Spain had been common since the eighth century but the Spanish *Reconquista* has not typically been placed in the same category as crusades to the Holy Land.¹⁶ Although campaigns in Spain did involve ecclesiastical sanctions, had an international flavor, and those who participated were granted remission of sins, scholars have nonetheless argued that they may not have been "crusades" because the "reconquest lacked the distinctive crusading indulgence, the wearing of the cross, and the intention of delivering the Holy Land."¹⁷ But recent scholarship has shown that, after the initial crusades to the East, the Spanish *Reconquista* began to conform to the ideology of the crusade or in the very least, it became a substitute for a Crusade to the Holy Land.¹⁸ In fact, during the twelfth century, some crusading armies were split with "one part of the army [bound] for the eastern regions [that is, the Holy Land], another for Spain, and a third against the Slavs."¹⁹ As a result, members of these campaigns enjoyed many of the same privileges and indulgences as campaigns exclusively destined for the Holy Land.

The literary sources depicting Charlemagne's military exploits make up a significant portion of the twelfth-century epic tradition.²⁰ This is an important image and theme, since many of the literary works were written either during the preparation for, or immediately in response to some of the major campaigns of the twelfth century. The authors, who were familiar with crusading, couched Charlemagne's legendary deeds

in terms that were immediately familiar—that of the present situations in Spain and the Holy Land.

Three examples of this phenomenon represent the breadth and depth of Charlemagne's imagined crusades—the Oxford *Chanson de Roland*, the so-called *Pseudo-Turpin*, and Konrad's *Rolandslied*. All are essentially concerned with the same subject—Charlemagne's legendary military campaigns in Spain—but there are notable differences. First, there are differences in production, in time and place, as well as in language of composition. However, the differences in the sources give us an indication of how the literary tradition of Charlemagne was shaped by the experience of crusading. The story of Roland and Charlemagne's Spanish campaign moves from a vague reflection of crusading in the early twelfth century to an explicit manifestation of crusade rhetoric and ideology by the latter part of the same century.

Many vernacular epics in the early to mid-twelfth-century were loosely based on historical traditions, and they often mirrored the crusades directly. The most famous example is the Old French Oxford *Chanson de Roland* the tradition of which many scholars have dated to the early twelfth century.²¹ The *Roland* poet depicts battles between Christians and Muslims and presents Charlemagne as a king, fierce warrior, and defender of Christendom. In some ways, epics are arguably as important as other historical sources for modern scholars since before the fourteenth century, they were viewed not as literature or fiction, but as history.²² On the basis of a campaign Charlemagne launched in 778, the poet of the Oxford *Roland* turns that campaign into a tale of treachery, tragedy, and revenge. The opening stanza of the poem gives a clear picture of the main theme. The poet writes,

Charles the king, our great emperor
Has been in Spain for seven long years,
And conquered that proud land as far as the sea.
There is no castle which can resist him,
No wall or city to be destroyed,
Except for Saragossa, which stands upon a mountain.
It is held by King Marsile, who does not love God;
He serves Muhammad and calls upon Apollo.
He cannot prevent disaster from overtaking him.²³

Charlemagne's stature as a military conqueror and the impending conflict between the Christians and Muslims are central. In the Oxford *Roland*, there may not be any explicit references to crusade but the language, symbolism, and motifs certainly seem to indicate that the author was

informed about the crusading ideology and culture of the period. Michael Routledge argues that, "it seems plausible that the poet [of *Roland*] was aware that his account would have a special appeal as propaganda."²⁴ In addition, perhaps the most important consideration is the audience. Routledge argues, "from the point of view of the audience—for we must not forget that these songs were written to be performed—[these songs] presented, in a palatable way exclusive to their milieu, the doctrine, information, and propaganda that was otherwise delivered by preachers, or diffused by clerks."²⁵ *Roland* is just the first of a long list of *chansons de geste* that celebrate the heroic deeds of Charlemagne and glorify crusading. For example, near the beginning of *Roland*, there is an episode that is somewhat reminiscent of the contemporary description of Jerusalem after its conquest in 1099 and the subsequent massacre of unbelievers. The author of *Roland* writes,

The emperor is happy and joyful
He has taken Cordoba and shattered its walls,
And demolished its towers with his catapults;
His knights have captured great booty,
Gold, silver, and costly arms.
No pagan was left within the city
Who was not slain or made a Christian.²⁶

An array of other poems and Latin stories would carry the central theme of *Roland* and emphasize Charlemagne's crusading and military exploits.

By the mid-twelfth century, Charles became a broad exemplar for crusading in both Spain and the Holy Land, as further military exploits in Spain were grafted into the story of *Roland* in the so-called Latin *Pseudo-Turpin* (*Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi*). This text deals with a series of wars, at the end of which Charlemagne had conquered the whole of Spain. Although referred to as a chronicle, the text is written as a letter from the archbishop of Reims (a contemporary of Charlemagne) to Leoprand, the dean of Aachen. Of course, it is actually an invention of an imaginative twelfth-century churchman who must have been intimately familiar with *chansons de geste* and in particular with the Oxford *Roland*.²⁷

It has been suggested that the *Pseudo-Turpin* was used to encourage pilgrimage to Compostella and to aid recruitment for the *Reconquista*. This is unsurprising, given that most scholars date the original text to between 1140 and 1165, thus placing the text squarely in the framework of the twelfth-century reception of Charlemagne's legendary deeds and squarely at the height of twelfth-century crusading fervor. For instance, in 1147, as he was calling the Second Crusade, Pope Eugenius III gave

permission to Emperor Alfonso VII of León-Asturias to a lead crusade against the Muslims in Spain.²⁸ In all probability, the *Pseudo-Turpin* postdates this event and should thus be read as part of the ongoing crusade effort in Spain. The representation of Charlemagne in the *Pseudo-Turpin* reflects this. It is an extension of the picture presented in the Oxford *Roland*, with Charlemagne cast as the perfection of Christian kingship and imperial authority. If anything, the crusading image is arguably more explicit here. Robert Morrissey goes so far as to describe this work as “the account that represents Charlemagne as the model of the crusading king, an image that was later adopted for expeditions to the Holy Land.” It seems to be, in no uncertain terms, a “work of propaganda” aimed at an audience familiar with crusading.²⁹

The *Pseudo-Turpin* tells the story of Charlemagne’s liberation of Compostella and his eventual conquest of all of Spain. Charlemagne remains the powerful king who confidently leads his armies into battle against the enemies of Christendom and, similar to that found in the *Roland*, the *Pseudo-Turpin* depicts Charlemagne as having a favored relationship with God. This relationship is readily apparent near the beginning of the story when Saint James appears before Charlemagne and says, “Wherefore, I [James] want to notify you [Charles] that the Lord made you powerful above all earthly kings, so he has chosen you among all princes to prepare through me the path of faith and to liberate my land from the hands of Saracens.”³⁰ In the *Pseudo-Turpin*, Charlemagne is the most capable and most favored by God. The crusade rhetoric of the twelfth-century contained many of the same ideas and much of the same imagery. The crusaders were the new “chosen people” who were called upon by God to liberate the Holy Land.³¹ In the *Pseudo-Turpin*, Spain becomes a new “Holy Land” and Compostella a New Jerusalem.

A second theme that becomes central to Turpin’s version of Charlemagne’s Spanish campaign—and something notably absent from the Oxford *Roland*—is the specific goal of liberating Christian lands. The preoccupation of liberating Christian territories from the yoke of Muslim rule remained central to crusade ideology and propaganda in both the Holy Land and Spain. For the Holy Land, this is evident as early as the First Crusade as seen in the various versions of Pope Urban’s speech at Clermont.³² In Spain, ideas about reconquest actually appear as early as the ninth century with sources like the *Chronicle of Alphonso III*.³³ Whereas a view more contemporary with the crusades can be found in the sources from the reign of Sancho I Ramirez King of Aragon and Navarre who argued that the liberation of the Christian lands in Spain was done in honor and service to Christ.³⁴ In the *Pseudo-Turpin*, this process of “liberation” was an ongoing concern for Christian leaders in Spain, and

Charlemagne is presented as being in line with the successes of previous kings. However, Charlemagne's exploits are much more spectacular. After discussing the various cities that have been conquered, the author talks about what previous kings of the Franks had done in the region and then compare them to Charlemagne's successes, which surpass those of all previous kings in his conquests and achievements. Turpin writes, "many ancient kings and princes were able to expel the Saracens from Spain. Clovis, the first Christian King of the Franks, and Lothar, Dagobert, Pepin, and Charles Martel conquered Spain, but abandoned part of it. But Charlemagne was able, in time, to subjugate all of Spain."³⁵

Perhaps more representative of the crusading mentality than either the Old French Oxford *Roland* or Latin *Pseudo-Turpin* is the German reworking of the *Roland* story by a German priest named Konrad. The *Rolandslied* is the first major treatment of the crusade in medieval German literature and although there are a number of parallels with the Old French version, there are a number of striking differences as well.³⁶ The text dates to c. 1170 and its author, *Pfaffe Konrad*, names himself in the work.³⁷

Nearly twice as long as the Oxford *Roland*, the German *Rolandslied* retains the Oxford text's basic narrative but enhances some of the themes. It is difficult not to conclude that the crusades had a tremendous effect on the work. At one point Charlemagne's character says of the Saracen enemy, "I'll lead such a Crusade that they will regret ever having been born. They shall all perish shamefully."³⁸ This type of rhetoric pervades the entire text, leading one scholar to suggest that, "no other medieval work portrays so vividly the religious zeal, indeed one might call the religious fanaticism that prevailed in many quarters after the Second Crusade."³⁹ In fact, Horst Richter has argued that the *Rolandslied* is "imbued with an intense religious and crusading spirit [that is] foreign to the *Chanson de Roland*." The crusade rhetoric and imagery were additions by Konrad, who re-interpreted the Roland story in the light of his context, the late twelfth century.⁴⁰ There are enough direct parallels between the two versions to conclude that Konrad viewed the French version in such a way, despite Konrad's insistence that, in using a French version of the story, "he had added nothing and [took] nothing away—than with regard to his interpretation of events."⁴¹ Of course, Konrad did add a great deal to the story, and his additions are quite telling on how the crusades affected its evolution.

The importance of crusading to the text's formation is substantiated by the text itself. The actions of Charlemagne, Roland, and Turpin are consistent with other crusade epics and other various forms of crusade propaganda. For example, the crusading song *Chevalier, Mult Es Guariz* ("Knights, Much is Promised") written for the Second Crusade was

intended to encourage knights to join Louis VII's campaign, while the *Chanson D'Aspremont*, written in southern Italy just before the Third Crusade, explicitly characterizes Charlemagne's knights as proto-crusaders.⁴² In addition, the emphases on indulgence and martyrdom in the *Rolandslied* draw strong parallels to crusade bulls, such as in *Quantum praedecessores* issued by Pope Eugenius III in 1146 and the *Audita tremendi* given by Gregory VIII in 1187.⁴³ For example, Konrad emphasizes the concept of martyrdom with increasing frequency throughout the text. In one instance, Turpin makes this clear when he tells the Franks before a battle that "if you die, you will be martyrs and secure a place in paradise."⁴⁴ On another occasion, after a great battle in which many Christian warriors are lost, Konrad writes that "four hundred and ten Christians died and were received with angels' song in the holy place where those of God's children go who suffer martyrdom for His sake. Having served their Lord well, they were now rewarded with great honor."⁴⁵ There is a rather clear parallel here between Konrad's emphasis on martyrdom and various crusade sources that also emphasize martyrdom and indulgence. The knights in Charlemagne's army are encouraged to strive for great deeds on the battlefield, with the understanding that the army's faith and efforts will be rewarded by God in the end. This helps to explain the anxious attitudes of the Christian knights in the poem who can hardly wait to fight against God's enemies on the field of battle. Their death in battle fighting for God should not only be mourned, but also celebrated since they achieved a martyr's death. In the *Rolandslied*, as opposed to the Oxford *Roland*, Charlemagne is even admonished by an angel for grieving too much over his dead knights. Instead, he is told to rejoice at their martyrdom.⁴⁶

In Konrad's version of the Roland story, there are several speeches and exhortations that are strikingly similar to language used in crusade sermons. For example, Konrad uses the German translation of the Latin *miles Christi* to refer to Charlemagne and Roland, calling them *gotes helden* and *gotes degene*.⁴⁷ The heroes Charlemagne, Roland, and the rest of the twelve peers mark themselves with the sign of the cross just as crusaders had done. But Konrad's warriors of God are also presented as the *militia spiritualis*, the ideal combination of monk and warrior and an ideal not present in texts such as the Oxford *Roland*. The idea of the *militia spiritualis* was heavily influenced by the writings of Bernard of Clairvaux and the military religious orders that developed after the First Crusade.⁴⁸ Konrad describes some of their virtues as follows: "They show unanimity, heart-felt desire to be with God, discipline and chastity, purity and obedience, patience and love, and a burning desire for God's sweetness."⁴⁹ These elements are particularly prevalent in the representation of Charlemagne,

who is given a "saint-like" status. This should not be surprising since it was just approximately five years earlier in 1165, that he had been canonized by the antipope Pascal III at the behest of the German Emperor, Frederick I Barbarossa. Even though the representation of Charlemagne in Germany did not enjoy the same lofty status as it did in the French lands or for as long a period, the mid-twelfth-century to the fourteenth-century was a time when his figure reached its most prominent representation.⁵⁰ The *Rolandslied* is probably the best example of the idealized portrait of the crusading Charlemagne in all of medieval German literature.⁵¹

There is one last factor concerning the *Rolandslied* and Crusades that should be considered. Konrad not only names himself in the work but also names his reasons for producing the work. In the epilogue, Konrad names "Herzog Hainrich and the noble duchess, child of a mighty king" as his patrons. Numerous scholars have concluded that these are Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony and Bavaria and his second wife Mathilda, daughter of Henry II of England.⁵² Thus, Jeffrey Ashcroft and others have argued that the tone of the story reflects Henry the Lion's desire to lead a Northern Crusade. This campaign, along with others outside the Holy Land, is rarely given the same amount of attention as the major crusades to the East. However, during Henry's time, between the Second and Third Crusades, Saxony represented an area that had significant numbers of crusade participants in this endeavor.⁵³ Henry, like many nobles and monarchs of the twelfth-century often emphasized his own personal familial connection to the Frankish emperor (as grandson of Lothar II, himself the great-grandson of Charlemagne).⁵⁴ In addition, Henry conquered and converted new lands to Christianity just as Charlemagne does in the *Rolandslied*.⁵⁵

There is very little about the *Rolandslied* that is not representative of twelfth-century crusader ideology and very little in the text to mark the representation of Charlemagne as anything other than the ideal crusader. J. W. Thomas noted, "Karl is the ideal ruler and crusader. Seeking neither wealth nor fame, he wants only to be an agent in carrying out the divine will; his strength comes from God."⁵⁶ This is apparent throughout as Konrad continually emphasizes Charlemagne as the "defender of Rome" and defender of orphans and widows.⁵⁷ In addition, Ashcroft has argued that since the poem appeared after 1147, it reflects the popular German conception of a link between imperial holy war and crusading.⁵⁸ He further argues that the *Rolandslied* "testifies to a distinctly German reception and adaptation of crusading ideas between 1147 and 1170 and to the endorsement and promotion of the Wendish campaigns as a "Northern Crusade" by the Church both centrally and in Saxony itself."⁵⁹ Using this rhetoric that surrounded the Northern Crusade, Konrad has transformed

Charlemagne's Spanish campaign into something more familiar to himself and to his audience.

Twelfth-century sources, particularly in the epic tradition, were imbued with crusading imagery.⁶⁰ Indulgence and religious justification for war are major components of the stories and essential parts of the creation of Charlemagne's image and character. He epitomized the ethos of the twelfth- and thirteenth-century crusades. Marcus Bull argued that, "the reasons why arms-bearers from certain parts of south-western France (and very possibly from elsewhere) went on the First Crusade can be traced in patterns of behavior and sets of ideas which were principally molded by contacts with professed religion."⁶¹ This is reflected in the chivalric and crusading literature that became commonplace in the twelfth- and thirteenth-centuries.

It is no surprise therefore that Charlemagne's characteristics conform to the chivalric expectations of a twelfth-century audience. During the twelfth century, Bernard of Clairvaux helped combine the ideas of knighthood and monasticism in his *De laude novae militiae*.⁶² It is also that period that Maurice Keen argued, "the crusader became virtually the exclusive type of true chivalry, and the crusader at that who was fired by single-minded religious zeal."⁶³ Charlemagne's representation served as the ideal model for the crusaders and therefore was fodder for crusade propagandists. Keen further argues that the "interweaving of Christian with heroic and secular motifs becomes characteristic of the treatment of the crusade in chivalrous narrative and poetry."⁶⁴ If so, then the image of Charlemagne is an important key in understanding this process. He is, at once, the secular monarch who embodies the very perfection of knightly abilities and the Christian pilgrim who fights for and defends the church. And as Keen contends,

one reason why the stories of Charlemagne and his peers made such a powerful impact upon the knighthood of the twelfth and succeeding centuries was because it was so easy for the men to relate the preoccupations of the Carolingian world and the events of Charles's career, as they came to know them, to preoccupations and events of their own time, especially perhaps, to their crusading preoccupations.⁶⁵

And crusading dominated twelfth-century society. Beyond the three major campaigns to the Holy Land, there were numerous other smaller expeditions. Between 1101 and 1186, there were nearly twenty appeals for major campaigns, just to the East.⁶⁶ With Crusaders coming and going and popes calling for new campaigns regularly, crusading became a cultural fixture in the West. In addition, the ever-present campaigns in Spain acted as a constant reminder of continued Christian-Muslim

conflict. As a result, it should not be entirely surprising that the Roland story was considerably transformed as crusading became more commonplace and widespread.

However, many of the twelfth-century sources seem to be more than just a celebration of chivalry, knighthood, and heroism. Considering the prevalence of the crusades at the time and places the stories were composed, it is possible that they may have been intended to inspire others to join these expeditions. At the time of the First Crusade, the propaganda effort took many forms. Generally, the job of promoting and preaching the crusade fell to the papacy, with the lesser clergy repeating speeches and instructions from the Pope.⁶⁷ Churchmen preached the idea, and the laity responded by leading armies into harm's way. After the First Crusade, virtually all crusades were proclaimed by papal bull. Nevertheless, the popular image of the crusades and knights who led them grew beyond the confines of papal proclamations. Crusading blossomed in the popular imagination at many levels of society.⁶⁸ This popular view is largely represented in religious terms but by no means restricted to papal sermons. Popes and clergymen did travel around Europe preaching and recruiting for the Crusade but so too did Bohemond of Taranto, one of the heroes of the First Crusade, who campaigned in France for a new crusade shortly after the first (ca. 1106).⁶⁹

There were at least eleven crusading songs that were produced for the Second Crusade, and many *chansons de geste* were produced about this time. It is no coincidence that these stories have the crusades or crusading as a major theme and subsequently have Charlemagne as the main character. These poems reflect a great deal about the values, experiences, and expectations of society. In addition, they reflect an ongoing preoccupation with crusading and with the presence of an (at least) perceived threat that the forces of Islam represented in Spain and the Holy Land. For example, as mentioned before, the *Chanson d'Aspremont* written in the late twelfth century and actually sung in the streets of Messina in 1190 before an army of crusaders, has been described as "an epic poem in which the most glorious image of a crusading Charlemagne [fights] for the defense of Christendom."⁷⁰ But this idea was present earlier. This is clear at the end of the Oxford *Roland*, when Charlemagne, just after winning a decisive battle against the Saracens and avenging the death of his nephew, is called away to another campaign. As Charlemagne begins to sleep,

St. Gabriel comes, God's courier, to his side [and says]

"Up, Charles! Assemble thy whole imperial army;

With force and arms to Elbira ride;

Help King Vivien where he lies, at Imphe,

His city, besieged by Infidels; The Christians call and cry out for you."⁷¹

The location of *Imphe* is unknown but the poet's reference to *Bire* may be a reference to the fortress of Elbira near Granada and thus this *laisse* is perhaps implicitly referring to the continuing nature of the Spanish *Reconquista*. At the very least, the adaptation and interpretation of the Roland story throughout the twelfth century illustrates how quickly Charlemagne's military campaigns evolved into crusades. In addition, the sources illustrate the extent to which the memory of Charlemagne penetrated, and even moved beyond, literature related to crusading.

Notes

1. Folz, *Souvenir*, 135–45.
2. Ekkehard of Aura, *Chronicon*, MGH SS, 6: 215. "Inde fabulosum illud confictum est de Karolo Magno quasi de mortuis in id ipsum resuscitato et alio nescio quo nihilominus redivivo, fribolum quoque illud de anseris quasi dominam suam deducente, multaque id genus."
3. Gerd Althoff, *Otto III*, trans. Phyllis G. Jestice (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003), pp. 104–7; also Matthew Gabriele, "Otto III, Charlemagne, and Pentecost A.D. 1000: A Reconsideration Using Diplomatic Evidence," in *The Year 1000: Religious and Social Response to the Turning of the First Millennium*, ed. Michael Frassetto (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), pp. 111–32.
4. Colin Morris, "Propaganda for War: The Dissemination of the Crusading Ideal in the Twelfth Century," *Studies in Church History* 20 (1983): 79.
5. Steven Runciman, "Charlemagne and Palestine," *English Historical Review* 50 (1935): 619; and Einar Joranson, "The Alleged Frankish Protectorate in Palestine," *American Historical Review* 32 (1927): 241–61.
6. Barton Sholod, "Charlemagne in Spain: The Cultural Legacy of Roncevalles" in *Studies in Honor of M.J. Benardete: Essays in Hispanic and Sephardic Culture*, ed. Izaak A. Langnas and Barton Sholod (New York: Las Americas Publishing Co., 1965), pp. 37–8.
7. *Descriptio qualiter Karolus Magnus*, in *Die Legende Karls des Grossen im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert*, ed. Gerhard Rauschen (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1890), pp. 95–125.
8. *Descriptio qualiter*, ed. Rauschen, 117–18. "quo spineam coronam et clavum frustumque crucis et sudarium domini cum aliis sanctissimis reliquiis – nam sanctissime matris domini semper virginis Marie camisa inerata et cinctorium, unde puerum lesu in cunabulis cinxerat, et brachium sancti sensi Symeonis."
9. *Ibid.*, 118. "spineam domini coronam et unum de clavis, qui in carne eius fuerunt et de ligno crucis et alia quedam."
10. Amy G. Remesnyder, *Remembering Kings Past: Monastic Foundation Legends in Medieval Southern France* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995), pp. 150–211.

11. Gabrielle Spiegel, "The Reditus Regni ad Stirpem Karoli Magni: A New Look," *French Historical Studies* 7 (1971): 145–74.
12. Rosamond McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 21–2.
13. James Powell, "Myth, Legend, Propaganda, History: The First Crusade, 1140—ca. 1300," in *Autour de la Première Croisade: Actes du colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East (Clermont-Ferrand, 22–25 juin 1995)*, ed. Michel Balard (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1996), p. 131.
14. Matthew Gabriele, "Imperator Christianorum: Charlemagne and the East, 814–1100" (Ph.D. Diss., History, University of California, Berkeley, 2005).
15. Jean Flori, *La Guerre sainte: La formation de l'idée de croisade dans l'Occident Chrétien* (Paris: Aubier, 2001), pp. 54–8.
16. Hans Eberhard Mayer, *The Crusades*, trans. John Gillingham (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 18.
17. Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), pp. 19–20.
18. Flori, *La Guerre sainte*, 50–60; and O'Callaghan, *Reconquest*, 20–30.
19. *The Crusades: A Reader*, ed. S. J. Allen and Emilie Amt (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 2003), p. 271.
20. Folz, *Souvenir*, 130–43.
21. Many scholars place the tradition of Oxford *Roland* to c. 1100, while dating the Digby 23 manuscript to the second quarter of the twelfth century (c. 1125–70). See *La Chanson de Roland*, ed. Joseph Duggan, 3 vols. (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2005), pp. 1:14–15 and *Approaches to Teaching the Song of Roland*, ed. William W. Kibler and Leslie Morgan (New York: The Modern Language Association, 2006), pp. 22–3.
22. Paul Zumthor, *Toward a Medieval Poetics*, trans. Philip Bennet (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992), p. 5.
23. *The Song of Roland*, ed. and trans. Glyn Burgess (New York: Penguin, 1990), ll. 1–9. "Carles li reis, nostre emperere magnes, Set anz tuz plains ad estét en Espaigne. Tresqu'en la mer cunquist la tere altaigne; N'i ad castel ki devant lui remaigne, Mur ne citét n'i est en une muntaigne. Li reis Marsilie la tient, ki Deu nen aimet; Mahumet sert e Apollin recleimet. Nes poet garder que mals ne l'i ateignet."
24. Michael Routledge, "Songs," in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, ed. Jonathan Riley-Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 91.
25. Routledge, "Songs," 111. For an alternative view that questions the orality of the Oxford *Roland*, see Andrew Taylor, "Was There a Song of Roland" *Speculum* 76 (2001): 28–65.
26. *The Song of Roland*, ed. and trans. Burgess, ll. 96–102. "Li empereres se fait e balz e liez; Cordres ad prise e les murs peceiez, Od ses cadables les turs en abatiéd. Mult grant eschech en unt si chevalier D'or e d'argent e

de guarnemenz chers. En la citét nen ad remés paien Ne seit ocis u deviant chrestien.” A similar scene can be found with Charlemagne’s taking of Saragossa at the end of the poem. See ed. and trans. Burgess, *The Song of Roland*, ll. 3658–74.

27. See introduction to *The Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*, ed. H. M. Smyser (Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America, 1937), pp. 1–12. See also H. M. Smyser, “An Early Redaction of the Pseudo-Turpin (Bib. Nat. fonds lat. 17656, olim Notre Dame 133),” *Speculum*, 11 (1936): 277–93.
28. Mayer, *The Crusades*, 99.
29. Robert Morrissey, *Charlemagne and France: A Thousand Years of Mythology*, trans. Catherine Tihanyi (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2003), pp. 51–2.
30. *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*, ed. Smyser, 57. “Quapropter tibi notifico quia sicut Dominus omnium regum terre potentissimum te constituit, sic ad preparandum ad me viam fidelium et liberandam terram meam de manibus Moabitarum ex omnibus te principibus elegit.”
31. See Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986), pp. 140–2.
32. All translated in *The First Crusade: The Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres and Other Source Materials*, ed. Edward Peters (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), pp. 25–37, 52–3.
33. O’Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, 4.
34. O’Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, 8.
35. *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*, ed. Smyser, p. 60. “Multi reges et principes in Hispania Sarracenos expugnaverunt. Chlodoveus namque primus rex Francorum christianus, Chlotarius, Dagobertus, Pippinus, Karolus Martellus, partim Hispaniam adquisierunt, partim dimiserunt. Sed hic Karolus magnus totam Hispaniam suis temporibus subiugavit.”
36. Karl-Ernst Geith, *Carolus Magnus: Studien zur Darstellung Karls des Grossen in der deutschen Literatur des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts* (Münich: Francke, 1977), pp. 90–2.
37. In addition, there is a nearly complete manuscript that dates to the late twelfth-century. The editions and translations used here are based on that Heidelberg manuscript in which the poet, in the epilogue, calls himself “der Pfaffe Kuonrat.”
38. *Priest Konrad’s Song of Roland*, trans. J. W. Thomas (Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1994), p. 45.
39. Thomas, “Introduction,” in *Priest Konrad’s Song of Roland*, pp. 2, 5.
40. Horst Richter, “*Militia Dei*: A Central Concept for the Religious Ideas of the Early Crusades and the German *Rolandslied*,” in *Journeys Toward God: Pilgrimage and Crusade*, ed. Barbara N. Sargent-Baur (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1992), p. 108.
41. Walter Haug, *Vernacular Literary Theory in the Middle Ages: The German Tradition, 800–1300, in its European Context*, trans. Joanna M. Catling (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 78.

42. See *Crusades: A Reader*, ed. Allen and Amt, 213–14; and *La Chanson D'Aspremont*, ed. Louis Brandin, 2nd ed. (Paris: Champion, 1970).
43. See Jonathan Phillips, *The Crusades 1095–1197* (London: Longman, 2002), pp. 180–2 for *Quantum Praedecessores*; and *Crusades: A Reader*, ed. Allen and Amt, 162–6 for *Audita tremendi*.
44. *Das rolandslied des Pfaffen Konrad*, ed. Peter Wapnewski (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1967), ll. 1134–5.
45. *Das rolandslied*, ed. Wapnewski, ll. 4580–9. Translation from *Priest Konrad's*, trans. Thomas, 65.
46. *Das rolandslied*, ed. Wapnewski, ll. 6950–7019. See also Jeffrey Ashcroft, "Pfaffe Konrad," in *Dictionary of Literary Biography, Germany Writers and the Early Middle Ages: 800–1170*, ed. Will Hasty and James Hardin, vol. 148 (New York: Gale Research, 1995), p. 123.
47. Richter, "Militia Dei," 108. In one instance, just before the climax of the poem, Charlemagne gives a speech to his knights, in which he tells them that "Nu ir gotes helde" ("You are warriors of God"). See *Das rolandslied*, ed. Wapnewski, l. 7681.
48. Ashcroft, "Pfaffe Konrad," 125.
49. *Das rolandslied*, ed. Wapnewski, ll. 3419–25. "Si heten alle ain müt. Ir herce hin ze gote stunt si heten zucht unt scam, chuske unt gehorsam, gedult unt minne. Si prunnen warlichen inne nach der gotes süze."
50. Paul Salmon, *Literature in Medieval Germany* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1967), p. 44.
51. Maria Dobozy, "The Structure of the Crusade Epic and the Function of the King," *Neophilologus* 67 (1983): 92.
52. Jeffrey Ashcroft, "Konrad's *Rolandslied*, Henry the Lion, and the Northern Crusade," in *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 22 (1986): 184–208. See also Ashcroft, "Pfaffe Konrad," 121–30.
53. Dieter Kartschoke, *Die Datierung des deutschen Rolandsliedes* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1965).
54. Albert K. Wimmer, *An Anthology of Medieval German Literature* (Bristol, UK: Wyndom Hall Press, 1987), p. 50.
55. Ashcroft, "Pfaffe Konrad," 125.
56. Thomas, "Introduction," in *Priest Konrad's Song of Roland*, 5.
57. *Priest Konrad's*, trans. Thomas, 17, 38, 45.
58. Ashcroft, "Konrad's *Rolandslied*," 190–2.
59. Ashcroft, "Konrad's *Rolandslied*," 204.
60. Powell, "Myth, Legend, History," 127–41.
61. Marcus Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade: The Limousin and Gascony, c. 970–c. 1130* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 20.
62. Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Praise of the New Knighthood*, trans. Conrad Greenia (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 2000).
63. Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984), p. 5.
64. Keen, *Chivalry*, 55.

65. Keen, *Chivalry*, 107.
66. Phillips, *Crusades 1095–1197*, 27–39; and Jonathan Riley-Smith, “The Crusading Movement and Historians,” in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 1–12.
67. Penny J. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades in the Holy Land, 1095–1270* (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1991), pp. 1–36.
68. It should be noted that many of the literary works were likely authored by churchmen though. See Taylor, “Was There a Song of Roland?,” 34.
69. Philips, *Crusades 1095–1197*, 29–30.
70. Morrissey, *Charlemagne and France*, 71, 73–4.
71. *Chanson de Roland*, ed. and trans. Burgess, ll. 3993–8. “Seint Gabiel de part Deu li vint dire: ‘Carles, sumun les oz de tun emperie Par force iras en la tere de Bire, Reis Vivien si succuras en Imphe, A la citet que paien unt asise; Li chrestien te recleiment e crient.’”

CHAPTER 8

CHARLEMAGNE AS PILGRIM? REQUESTS FOR RELICS IN THE *DESCRIPTIO QUALITER* AND THE *VOYAGE OF CHARLEMAGNE*

Anne Latowsky

The real Charlemagne never traveled to the East, yet by the tenth century the tradition of his journey to Jerusalem and Constantinople had already taken shape.¹ In the coming centuries, this fictitious addition to the biography of the Carolingian king would appear in prose, verse, and image, and eventually comprise a major chapter in such official *Lives* of Charlemagne as his 1165 canonization *Vita* and the *Grandes Chroniques de France*.² Two of the most significant versions of the voyage east are the Latin prose *Descriptio qualiter*,³ a late eleventh-century document linked to Saint-Denis, and the late twelfth-century vernacular poem, the *Voyage de Charlemagne à Jerusalem et à Constantinople* (hereafter *Voyage*).⁴ Both of these works are, in essence, *translatio* narratives that recount, albeit quite distinctly, Charlemagne's acquisition of relics of the Passion in the east. The *Descriptio qualiter* is an ecclesiastical document designed to authenticate relics held at Saint-Denis, whereas the *Voyage* is a humorous poetic send-up of the pious pretensions of the *Descriptio qualiter* and the culture that promoted it.

As Patrick Geary explains, a *translatio* was an accompanying text that gave meaning and conferred legitimacy to objects that could not and did not otherwise do so for themselves. When relics were transferred, the move meant a new set of associations for the objects themselves, as well as for the texts that told their stories. These texts were propagandistic and reflected the "values and attitudes espoused by their audiences."⁵

The *Voyage*, I argue, adds another step in this process of making and conferring meaning, for it stages a revised or mock *translatio* of the relics claimed by Saint-Denis. Rather than legitimating the relationship between the relics and the royal abbey, however, the poem ultimately devalues this relationship, as well as the *Descriptio qualiter* itself, by creating an unflattering set of associations, between the relics, their accompanying documents, and the sociopolitical context in which they functioned.

Parallel Scenes

Both versions of Charlemagne's journey to the East center on the meeting between emperors when Charlemagne stops in Constantinople on his way back from Jerusalem. In the *Descriptio qualiter*, when Charlemagne returns from liberating the Holy City, the Greek emperor insists that the Frankish king receive some evidence of God's mercy. Charlemagne reluctantly agrees and then describes, but does not name what he hopes to receive. In contrast, the *Voyage*'s Charles, King of Saint-Denis, arrives in Jerusalem, carries out no such liberation, and brashly asks for relics directly from the local Patriarch, simply because he wants some.

Critics have long recognized that the *Voyage* was inspired by the *Descriptio qualiter*, but the extent and nature of this debt have been left largely unexplored. Ronald Walpole, in a rare consideration of both works, deemed the *Voyage* "the violent and independent reaction of a popular poet to the *Descriptio*," and he branded the document a "sanctimonious fraud."⁶ While I do not contest Walpole's ultimate conclusions, my aim here is to bring to light the complex engagement on the part of the *Voyage* poet with the rhetorical construction of the Charlemagne of the *Descriptio qualiter*. Although multiple parallel episodes invite consideration, my focus here will be on depictions of Charlemagne asking for and then receiving relics of the Passion. The comparison of these scenes reveals on the part of the *Voyage* poet a meticulous dismantling of the discourse of Christian imperial relic exchange in the *Descriptio qualiter* and unveils a richer intertextual relationship than has been previously recognized.

The *Descriptio Qualiter*

As the major source for Charlemagne's acquisition of relics of the Passion, the *Descriptio qualiter* was a highly influential text. The work was all the more significant given its frequent placement alongside the legendary campaign to liberate the tomb of Saint James, as told in the

Pseudo-Turpin.⁷ Beginning in the later twelfth century, this pair of fictitious expeditions appeared side-by-side as major chapters in the legendary *vita* of the divinely favored emperor. For instance, a close rendition of the *Descriptio qualiter* figures just before the Spanish campaign in the documents compiled in support of Charlemagne's canonization in 1165.⁸ They also appeared in sequence in an early thirteenth-century Capetian context, in the Charlemagne window at Chartres, and then in vernacular prose with the compilation in the 1270s of the *Grandes Chroniques de France*.⁹

The Voyage of Charlemagne to Jerusalem and Constantinople

As mordantly humorous as the *Descriptio qualiter* is devoutly serious, the *Voyage* has long delighted and frustrated critics.¹⁰ This 870-verse poem is preserved in a fourteenth-century Anglo-Norman copy of a lost manuscript of unknown date and provenance and is generally thought to have appeared in the years surrounding the 1165 canonization.¹¹ The poem has long been considered a commentary on the political and ideological program of Saint-Denis and the Capetians, but critics have offered divergent assessments of the attitude of the poem and its poet toward the royal abbey and its patrons.¹² In his influential study of the function of relics in the poem, for example, Eugene Vance raised the ideological stakes of the poem significantly by crediting the work with deeply undermining the prevailing discourses of theocratic kingship in Capetian France.¹³

The Charlemagne of the *Voyage* is in conflict with two figures in the poem, his wife and the emperor of Byzantium, but despite his domestic troubles, the real political crisis in the poem is one for Western Christendom. Indeed, it is the showdown between the imperial seats of east and west that ends in a violent, yet bloodless victory over the Greek East, after which the Franks return triumphantly to France, their newly acquired, life-saving relics in hand. Yet, like the light cast on Saint-Denis, the level of seriousness of this so-called competition has been a matter of some dispute. Anne Cobby, who provides a useful summary of the debate, concludes that although Charlemagne is victorious over the Byzantine emperor, it happens at the expense of his dignity.¹⁴ My own conclusion, regarding both of these matters of contention, is that the *Voyage* is best understood when taken as an orchestrated response to the parallel assertion of God's preference for the Charlemagne over the Greek emperor set forth in the *Descriptio qualiter*. By creating a corresponding journey to Jerusalem and Constantinople that subverts the message of the *Descriptio qualiter*, the poem ultimately devalues the authenticating function of the

document, thereby deriding the institutions that deployed it and the communities that espoused it.

Turmoil in Jerusalem

The *Descriptio qualiter* opens with a solemn report of the besieged state of Christendom at the time of Charles's summoning to Rome to be crowned *Romanus imperator*. Jerusalem has been overrun by pagans and the expelled Patriarch of the city flees to Constantinople. There, he reports widespread suffering among Christians and dishonorable pagan comportment at the Holy Sepulcher. The Greek emperor, Constantine, offers no help until divine counsel arrives in a dream vision, urging him to call on Charlemagne for assistance. The emperor responds by sending letters to Charlemagne, one of which describes the vision. In the dream, the emperor had seen before his bed a young messenger who reminded him of his request for advice concerning the plight of Christians in the Holy Land. The messenger had then pointed to an image of Charlemagne in armor and indicated him as the man who should aid him. Charlemagne then realizes for himself what Constantine has been told in the vision: that in the matter of delivering Jerusalem, God prefers the Frankish king.¹⁵ This moment of recognition of God's preference for Charlemagne in the *Descriptio qualiter* is essential to the reading of the *Voyage*, for it constitutes the basis for the highly equivocal crisis of imperial supremacy that plays out in the poem.

A Matter of Appearances

Deeply moved, Charlemagne musters a massive army, and the Franks swiftly deliver Jerusalem in a liberation that is conveyed by a simple "*fugatis paganis*." The narrator then interjects that Charles leaves Jerusalem for Constantinople, which holds fragments of the True Cross and monuments of the Passion.¹⁶ This aside provides a vital clue to the relative functions of the two cities in the text. Jerusalem, home of the Holy Sepulcher, is second, here, to the city that holds the portable monuments of the Passion, objects whose transfer constitutes the *raison d'être* of the document itself.

After Charlemagne and his entourage arrive in Constantinople, they swiftly seek permission to leave. Constantine pleads with Charles to stay on, and he agrees to remain three more days. As the Franks prepare to depart, the emperor orders a lavish display of animals, colorful cloaks, and precious gems and stones.¹⁷ The gifts are, to Constantine's mind, thanks for their deeds and long journey. When Charlemagne hears of the offerings though, he fears that such luxury will tempt his army, and turns to his trusted men for the appropriate response to the offering. The king

is pleased when they conclude that in the name of preserving the appearance of their journey, they ought not to accept:

Indeed he heard from them that it would be in no way proper for him and his men to lay hold of a reward for such labor since he had led his men to the site of the Passion and resurrection of the Lord for a pious reason; and lest before the good news spread to his people, it be made public in a manner deservedly harmful to his reputation—why would they all not say that he had acted, not inspired by a longing for justice, but with the zeal of avarice deep in his heart. And thus they would all say that he had invaded these places and places similar to these for the sake of adding something to his own kingdom, or that he did this for the sake of gathering gold and silver and other riches, which he lacked.¹⁸

The concern expressed here that Charlemagne might seek to annex Byzantine territory harks back to Einhard's famous suggestion in his *Vita Karoli* that the Greeks feared Charlemagne's expansionist intentions when he sought treaties with them after his coronation.¹⁹ The *Descriptio qualiter* author carefully refuses any notion of thirst for territory and demonstrates, instead, an early crusading-era concern over the perceived motives and meaning of western expeditions to the Holy Land.

Treasures of Constantinople

Ecclesiastical commentary on crusading practice contains no shortage of condemnation of the sins of crusaders, and certainly avarice was a central concern.²⁰ In his account of the First Crusade, Guibert of Nogent closely paraphrases a still-extant letter that articulates deep concern over the potential for sinful motives behind Holy Land expeditions passing through Constantinople. In the letter, now seen as a western fabrication from before 1095, Emperor Alexius Comnenus makes a plea to Duke Robert of Flanders on behalf of the besieged Christian East.²¹ The Greek leader boasts of both innumerable treasures and countless holy relics, which he offers in return for military assistance. Rather than conveying a straightforward call to arms, however, the letter abounds in apprehension over the motives of soldiers who might be moved by desire for the treasures of the imperial city rather than by piety.²² Thus, for the Western ecclesiastical minds that concocted fantasies of imperial Byzantium in distress, Constantinople as a stopover point was a great treasure chest where purity of motive would be tested.

In the *Descriptio qualiter*, Charles heeds the decision of his men and refuses the offerings, a decision that prompts Constantine to reason

further with him. The demurrer leads to some minor tension between the emperors, and Charlemagne has to be begged and nearly threatened to accept some token of thanks. The Frankish king finally yields after the emperor changes tactics, recasting the gifts not as thanks but as evidence of the mercy of God from which they benefited during the expedition:

Afterwards, a friendly dispute went on between the two emperors for a time. Indeed, he [Charles] affirmed that his denial must not be infringed upon, and although he [Constantine] was begging him to accept, for the love of God, he [Charles] yielded not at all. He [Constantine] warned that otherwise, he [Charles] and his men would be destroyed, or, rather, that he would not be acting wisely if he hastened to return to his lands without any gifts. He [Constantine] especially claimed that it would be fitting that he bring back some gift to show to his countrymen, not as reward or payment for his efforts, but as attestation of this accomplishment, as someone bearing proof (*pignus*) of the mercy of God.²³

When the emperor suggests that Charles should see the offer not as a reward, but as evidence or proof of God's mercy, he uses the term *pignus*, which was also common parlance for relics, as in the title of Guibert of Nogent's 1104 treatise condemning trafficking in relics, *De sanctis et eorum pigneribus* ("On the Saints and Their Relics").²⁴ The use of *pignus* allows the author to create a linguistic circumstance in which Constantine does not offer relics straight out, but instead plants the idea by encouraging him to ask for proof of God's mercy, *miseriordie dei pignus*. The presence of this semantic play is made all the more plausible by the fact that Charlemagne will eventually ask for the relics without naming them.

After agreeing to contemplate the reframed offer, Charlemagne stays awake all night and in the morning reveals his conclusions:

Thereupon Charles the Great described in detail what he was nourishing in his heart: "Therefore on account of the punishments of our Lord Jesus Christ, which on behalf of us sinners, obeying his Father, he endured to suffer to the point of death, oh most merciful one, we wish passionately that you may accord to however many of our people, who are not able to come to the city of Jerusalem to expiate their sins, that they may have in our lands something visible, which might faithfully soften their hearts towards the knowledge of the lordly Passion and recall them to the benefit of worthy piety."²⁵

Charlemagne presents his wish as if in the form of a riddle: he desires something visible, which will make people think of Christ's passion. Here, a humbly reticent Frankish king, in a carefully orchestrated bit of circumlocution, avoids uttering the name of the very objects that he hopes to obtain. Constantine is pleased to grant his wish, but he cannot do so

immediately since nobody knows where Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great, had hidden them.²⁶ This is a variation on the popular legend that held that after her own *inventio sanctae crucis*, Helena had sent the nails of the Crucifixion to her son in the eastern capital.²⁷ Then, in a version of the common *topos* of ignorance of the whereabouts of saintly remains, the Greek emperor orders three days of fasting, which yield the desired miraculous revelation. In this case, the notion that the relics had been buried during the reign of Constantine the Great, emperor of a united Christendom, allows for a typologically significant *inventio* scene. The *Descriptio qualiter* constructs the unveiling such that the relics pass directly to Charlemagne, having never truly been in the custody of the eastern side of a divided Christendom. For the Frankish leader, who prostrates himself before the relics and confesses his sins, the pilgrimage to the site of Christ's burial culminates not in Jerusalem, but in Constantinople.

Translatio and the Foundation of the Lendit

Charles carries home to Aachen in a cowhide pouch: the crown of thorns, a nail, a piece of the cross, the shift of the Virgin Mary, the swaddling clothes of the infant Christ, and the arm of Saint Simeon.²⁸ Upon his triumphal return, he proclaims the establishment of the Lendit (*Indictum*), a feast day for the confession of sins in honor of the relics.²⁹ Shortly thereafter, the narrative moves to Charles the Bald's donation of some of those relics to Saint-Denis, and his establishment of the Lendit at the royal abbey. Such claims concerning the inauguration of the Lendit are among the many useful fictions that populate the *Descriptio qualiter*, a text that sought to legitimate not only the provenance of Saint-Denis's relics, but also the Carolingian origins of the event. The actual Lendit was paired with an extremely lucrative fair, one of the largest in Europe, which likely emerged in the mid-eleventh century.³⁰ The fair was so successful that Louis VI organized a second fair on the plain of Saint-Denis, and in 1124, honored Abbot Suger's request that the proceeds be granted to the monks of the royal abbey.³¹ There were, therefore, significant material incentives for authenticating relics through a document such as the *Descriptio qualiter*, a fact that was clearly not lost on the composer of the *Voyage*.

Asking for Relics in the Voyage

The *Voyage* also begins with a scene of strife, but here, the conflict is domestic, with no lament over the plight of Christians anywhere. Instead, a preening Charles, King of Saint-Denis, asks his queen whether she has ever seen any man wear a crown as well as he does. She scolds him for his excessive pride and then affirms that she does indeed know of such a

king. Flustered because his men have overheard this, Charles promises to find said king so that they can wear their crowns side-by-side and proper judgment can be made. If they find in his favor, he will chop off her head. He then publicly proclaims his intention to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulcher, and then to visit a certain king, although he provides no rationale for the second part of the journey. In the company of 80,000 men, Charles sets off, unarmed, and in pilgrim's garb.

While the *Descriptio qualiter* presents a dream vision in which a divine messenger announces God's preference for Charlemagne as liberator of Jerusalem, the *Voyage* poet craftily establishes a new motive for the journey east. This time, it is the vain desire to meet a rival king and, even worse, Charles shamelessly cloaks the true reason for the trip in a supposedly long-standing desire to make the most sacred of pilgrimages. In this new iteration of Charlemagne's journey to the East, one that builds conspicuously on the existing tradition, the king is transformed from a pious and humble emperor into a touchy, proud sovereign who is eager to conquer more cities and then brag about it. Moreover, with no liberation of Jerusalem, the very justification for the transfer of relics of the Passion from East to West disappears, as does any explanation of God's preference for Charlemagne over his eastern counterpart. The absences of both a divinely inspired call for help and a swift liberation of Jerusalem each open up significant gaps in the framework of the story. By creating these crucial lacunae, the *Voyage* poet is able to reconfigure Charlemagne's acquisition of relics from the East without the sacred premises on which the *Descriptio qualiter* narrative had been built. Once devoid of sacred meaning, the *Voyage* becomes a version of this crucial chapter in the legendary *vita* of Charlemagne that is instead replete with clear subversions of the pious messages of the original.

Illuminating France

When Charles arrives in Jerusalem, he marches into a church and sits down inadvertently in a chair not occupied since God himself had been seated there. He then proceeds to brag to the patriarch of Jerusalem about the many kings he has conquered by his sword. As an unexpected reward for all of his boasting, and for his bravery in his choice of seats, the patriarch gives him a new name. In this unusual homage to the coronation of 800, the poet also makes a rather sacrilegious allusion to the iconography of the Christ in Majesty.³² The Patriarch announces, "May you be named 'Charles Maines, crowned above all other kings'" (158). In response to this unexpected investiture, Charlemagne insists, "If it pleases you, give me some of your holy relics: I shall bring them back to France, which I wish to enlighten."³³ In the *Descriptio qualiter*, Charles only agrees to

accept something after much pleading, whereas here Charles announces his wishes boldly and names the objects unequivocally. The Charles of the *Descriptio qualiter* promises that in finally accepting some evidence of God's mercy, he is moved not by avarice but by *caritas* and *pietas*.³⁴ By contrast, Charles's intention to *enluminer* France suggests a desire to decorate his domain with luxurious sparkling reliquaries. The same verb also evokes the concept of spiritual illumination derived from physical objects, the *anagogicus mos* espoused by the Abbot Suger in his treatises on the administration and consecration of the royal abbey.³⁵ The poet is, no doubt, cynically equating the desire to "enluminer" France with the fundraising programs of the royal abbey for its embellishment and, in particular, the lucrative elevation of relics during the Lendit. The Nail and the Crown attracted enormous and often generous crowds, throngs that Abbot Suger himself described as so dense that no one could move and so tightly packed that women screamed in distress as if caught in a winepress.³⁶ Given the intense concern over the sin of avarice in the *Descriptio qualiter*, the *Voyage* surely represents an ironic commentary on the benefits enjoyed by the abbey through the promotion of its relics.

If the Charlemagne of the *Descriptio qualiter* is an *exemplum* of humility, the *Voyage's* Charles is proportionately lacking in virtue and self-restraint. He is also literal-minded, wishing, for instance, to actually wear his crown next to his rival for visual assessment rather than recognizing the crown-wearing question as a metaphor for his rivalry with the East.³⁷ The relics are, for him, mere objects of acquisition, which do not refer beyond themselves to the symbolic transfer of imperial supremacy implied by the *translatio* effected in the *Descriptio qualiter*. What is more, he is unconcerned with the perceived motives of his journey and simply makes demands. This comportment is far more meaningful when read against the nuanced, parallel episode in the *Descriptio qualiter*. The *Voyage* poet clearly delighted in his own intertextual play, but it is likely that an audience familiar with the *Descriptio qualiter* was meant to enjoy it as well.

A Long List of Relics

The Patriarch promptly grants his visitor's impertinent request without hesitation, even offering him the finest relics on earth:

The patriarch answers: "You will have plenty;
For the time being you will have Saint Simon's arm,
And I shall send for Saint Lazarus' head,
And for some of Saint Stephen's blood, who was martyred for God."

In return Charlemagne extends to him his greetings and his friendship.³⁸

Upon receiving a promise of friendship in return, the Patriarch makes an intriguingly equivocal statement: "You acted wisely when you came to pay a visit to God: it should bring you good fortune. I shall give you relics such that there are none better on earth."³⁹ The prelate then enumerates the relics that he plans to give to Charlemagne in a humorously exaggerated list of objects relating to the Passion. He offers a piece of the shroud from Jesus's head when he was laid in the sepulcher, one of the nails that went through his foot, the Holy Crown that God wore on his head, the chalice that he blessed, the silver bowl inlaid with precious stones, and the knife that God used for his meal. And there is more, he promises, sounding like a merchant eagerly promoting his finest wares: part of Saint Peter's beard, and some of his hair. Charlemagne offers his friendship once again, but this time, at least, he is overjoyed.

The humor built on repetition and amplification persists as the prelate once again proclaims Charles's good fortune in having come to Jerusalem and adds more to the list. The offering of precious relics then goes on to include some of Mary's milk with which she nursed the baby Jesus, and a piece of her shift. The patriarch also reminds Charlemagne, on more than one occasion, of his good fortune in having come to Jerusalem:

The patriarch said to him. "You have good fortune
By my faith it is God who has led you here!
I shall give you relics that will perform great miracles."⁴⁰

The recurring suggestion that Charlemagne has somehow hit the jackpot by coming to Jerusalem clearly represents an ironic twist on the divine summons and realization of God's preference for him in the *Descriptio qualiter*. Pilgrimage to the Holy Land was supposed to involve adoration of the sites of the life and death of Christ, not an accidental windfall of relics and treasure. Furthermore, the emphasis on Jerusalem as the source of the relics marks a significant departure from the *Descriptio qualiter*, one that may respond to the promotion in the prose original of Constantinople as the best source for the portable monuments of the Passion. The promise of relics from the emperor of Byzantium in return for help from the West was practically a commonplace by the late twelfth-century. Thus, given the careful attention paid in the *Voyage* to the many pretenses of the *Descriptio qualiter*, its removal of the Byzantine emperor as the source of Saint-Denis's finest relics was a meaningful alteration that both suggested mindless pillaging of Jerusalem and highlighted the lack of a sacred mission on behalf of Christendom.

After receiving his haul of relics, Charlemagne performs some miracles of healing, after which he orders the construction of an

unequaled reliquary built of gold and silver. He and his men remain in Jerusalem for four months in great luxury, thanks to Charlemagne's great wealth. This is, of course, the same emperor who ostentatiously departed from Saint-Denis, unarmed, as a pilgrim. He did, however, remember to order the preparation of seven hundred camels loaded down with gold, enough to live on for seven years, until he found his rival king. Charlemagne travels to Jerusalem dressed like a pilgrim, and without weapons, but his gold-laden camels are the visual analog of the very unsacred leg of his journey to Constantinople. In a curious passage, the poet then announces that Charlemagne founds a church of Saint Mary in Jerusalem that the locals call "*La Latine*." In this likely evocation of the fair at Saint-Denis, the poet explains that in front of this church, people of all nationalities sell their silk cloths, spices, and herbs too numerous to name, adding strikingly, "But there is still a God in Heaven who will attend to all this!"⁴¹ The poet's wagging finger, in a warning of divine justice, seems pointed here at traveling merchants, but it was Saint-Denis that reaped the benefits of its own international marketplace, the Lendit.

The Charlemagne of the *Descriptio qualiter* is impatient to leave Constantinople, fearing that his men might be drawn in by the lure of Constantinople and desperate to avoid any suggestion of greed. When the *Voyage's* Charlemagne finally goes home, he takes all the treasure he can carry from the patriarch, who hands it over on the simple condition that he watch out for pagans. This is a far cry from offering protection and liberation from pagans to Christians in the East!

Relics to the Rescue in Constantinople

After a sumptuous banquet in splendid palace of King Hugo, the Franks engage in a drunken boasting match punctuated by playful yet outrageous threats toward Hugo and his family. Their host gets word of the boasts, and, unwilling to consider any apologetic explanation, promises to kill them should they fail to carry out their promises. The Franks prostrate themselves before their new relics and a desperate Charlemagne asks for help from God. An angel gently chides them for their mockery, but guarantees their success in carrying out the boasts (*gabs*). This divine intercession in favor of Charlemagne's camp brings a strange sort of victory over their rival host, and one of questionable value, as Cobby asserts, "God and the relics, then, both magnify the Franks and demean them. They thus express a fundamental ambivalence in the poet's use of religious preference, for Charles who is humiliated is also shown to be God's protégé."⁴²

The Charlemagne of the *Voyage*, while never completely condemnable, is a bungler who fails to grasp the deep religious and political significance of the events that transpire around him. This avatar of Charlemagne, so unique in the world of Old French verse, nonetheless manages to complete the same transfer of relics as does his pious counterpart. He enjoys God's favor, to the great detriment of the Greek emperor, for no clear reason, but he also enjoys God's preference for him over the Greek emperor in the *Descriptio qualiter* for no clear reason. Indeed, of all of the pieties and pretenses that the *Voyage* resists and subverts, the audacious assertion of divine favor was likely the primary source of inspiration for the *Voyage* poet's mocking pen. In the *Descriptio qualiter*, Charlemagne undertakes his expedition because he believed that it was God's will and at each juncture, he fulfills the role of humble servant of God following a divinely orchestrated path. He does not make gaffes like plopping down in God's chair or getting drunk and insulting his host, but he is nonetheless an intermediary and even unwitting figure. The *Voyage* poet demonstrates recognition of this aspect of the ecclesiastical Charlemagne by creating an absurdly exaggerated portrait of Charlemagne as accidental victor without battle over the Christian East.

In the *Voyage*, when Charlemagne returns to Saint-Denis, he falls down in prayer and then places the Nail and the Crown on the altar. His queen then falls at his feet in apology, and he forgives her, no longer angry enough to chop off her head. The completion of a transfer of relics, especially by a royal figure, was a triumphal event, but here the audience is swiftly reminded of Charles's earlier reprehensible behavior, and of the false pretenses under which he undertook the journey.

The *Voyage* is certainly no earnest attempt to write a new *translatio* narrative to accompany the relics of the Passion claimed by Saint-Denis. Rather, the poet adopts the *Descriptio qualiter* as the basis for a vernacular work that would confer alternate, even subversive meanings upon the abbey's most prized possessions. The *Voyage* recognizes the intended sociopolitical function of its source and shines an unflattering light on the very culture that employed this influential text to its political, and more importantly, financial advantage. As a humorously updated version of the official testament to the transmission of the Nail and the Crown of Thorns to the royal abbey, the *Voyage* is a version of Charlemagne's journey to the East that the monks of Saint-Denis could surely have done without.

Notes

1. For the most exhaustive treatment to date of the medieval Charlemagne legend, see Folz, *Souvenir*.

2. The *Vita* appears in Gerhard Rauschen, *Die Legende Karls des Grossen im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1890), pp. 1–94.
3. The full title is *Descriptio qualiter Karolus Magnus clavum et coronam Domini a Constatinopoli Aquisgrani detulerit qualiterque Karolus Calvus hec ad Sanctum Dionysium retulerit*, or “The description of how Charlemagne brought the nail and crown of the Lord from Constantinople to Aachen and how Charles the Bald brought these things to Saint Denis.” I have used Rauschen’s edition, which appears in the above-cited *Die Legende*, 95–126. See also Castet’s edition, based on a later manuscript, in the *Revue des Langues Romanes* 56 (1892): 417–69.
4. I have used *The Journey of Charlemagne to Jerusalem and Constantinople*, ed. and trans. Jean-Louis G. Picherit (Birmingham, AL: Summa Publications, 1984). The translations are Picherit’s.
5. Patrick J. Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978), pp. 6–9.
6. Ronald N. Walpole, “The ‘Pèlerinage of Charlemagne’: Poem, Legend, and Problem,” *Romance Philology* 8 (1955): 182.
7. *Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi ou Chronique du Pseudo-Turpin: Textes revus et publiés d’après 40 manuscrits*, ed. Cyril Meredith Jones (Paris: Droz, 1936).
8. Rauschen, *Die Legende*, 49.
9. See volume three of *Les Grandes Chroniques de France*, ed. Jules Viard (Paris: Société de l’Histoire de France, 1920–53).
10. Anne Elizabeth Cobby presents a useful review of the literature in *Ambivalent Conventions: Formula and Parody in Old French* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1995), pp. 82–7.
11. Picherit, *Journey of Charlemagne*, ix–x. For suggested dates, see John L. Grigsby, *The Gab as Latent Genre in Medieval French Literature: Drinking and Boasting in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Medieval Academy of America, 2000), pp. 119–20.
12. See Cobby, *Ambivalent*, 82–3; Paul Aebischer, *Le Voyage de Charlemagne à Jérusalem et à Constantinople* (Geneva: Droz, 1965), p. 28; Martin Gosman, “La propagande politique dans *Le Voyage de Charlemagne à Jérusalem et à Constantinople*,” *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie* 102 (1986): 53–66; Alfred Adler, “The *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne* in New Light on Saint-Denis,” *Speculum* 22 (1947): 550–61.
13. Eugene Vance, “Semiotics and Power: Relics, Icons, and the *Voyage de Charlemagne à Jérusalem et à Constantinople*,” *Romantic Review* 79 (1988): 166. Cf. John L. Grigsby, “The Relics’ Rôle in the *Voyage de Charlemagne*,” *Olifant* 9 (1981): 166.
14. Cobby, *Ambivalent*, 156.
15. *Descriptio qualiter*, ed. Rauschen, 108: “intelligens iam se a deo ad hoc negotium preelectum esse.”
16. *Descriptio qualiter*, ed. Rauschen, 109.
17. *Descriptio qualiter*, ed. Rauschen, 110.

18. *Descriptio qualiter*, ed. Rauschen: "Audivit vero ab eis se nequaquam decere de tanto suo suorumque labore premium affectare, cum se suosque ad locum dominice passionis et resurrectionis causa pietatis adduxerit, et ne qui antea bene disseminabatur per populos, tunc male divulgaretur—et merito—quin etiam omnes eum dicerent, non desiderio iusticie accensum sed penitus avaritie studio agitatum esse, et ita hec et his similia causa adiungendi suo regno aliud invasisse seu aurum atque argentum vel alias quamplures divicias congregandi causa, quod absit." The translation is mine.
19. Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni* 16, ed. G. H. Pertz, MGH SRG 25 (Hannover, 1911), p. 19.
20. See generally Elizabeth Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading, 1095–1274* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).
21. Guibert of Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos et cinq autres texts*, ed. R. B. C Huygens, CCCM 127A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), pp. 129–36. See Einar Johnson, "The Spurious Letter of Alexius," *American Historical Review* 55 (1949–50): 811–32.
22. "Epistula Alexii I Komneni imperatoris ad Robertum I comitem Flandrensem," *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088–1100*, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1901), pp. 129–37.
23. *Descriptio qualiter*, ed. Rauschen, 111: "Proinde inter duos imperatores altercatio benignitatis aliquantisper perstitit. Is etenim suam denegationem non infringendam confirmat; ille quoque per dei caritatem eum contestans, quo accipiat, minime cessat. Alioquin dicit perditum iri se atque suos, quin immo non sapienter agere [illum], si absque quolibet munere ad sue partes regionis regredi festinet. Presertim asserit eum oportere aliquod munus deferre, non quasi mercedem et premium laboris, sed quo huiusce rei testimonium et quasi misericordie dei pignus ferens compatriotis suis ostendat."
24. *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology*, ed. Thomas Head (New York: Garland, 2000), p. 399.
25. *Descriptio qualiter*, ed. Rauschen, 111–12: "Ad hec mox Karolus magnus enucleavit, quod alebat in pectore; ergo de domini nostri Iesu Christi penis, quas pro nobis peccatoribus obediens patri usque ad mortem dignatus est pati, misericordissime tribuas gestimus, quatinus nostrates qui ad urbem Iherosolimam causa abholendi sua peccata venire nequeunt, quiddam in partibus nostris visibile habeant, quod ad passionis dominice mentionem corda eorum fideliter molliat et ad fructum penitentie digna revocet pietate."
26. *Descriptio qualiter*, ed. Rauschen, 112.
27. *Medieval Hagiography*, ed. Head, 86–95.
28. *Descriptio qualiter*, ed. Rauschen, 117–18.
29. *Descriptio qualiter*, ed. Rauschen, 120.
30. Donatella, Nebbiai-Dalla Guarda, *La bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Saint-Denis en France du IXe au XVIIIe* (Paris: CNRS, 1985), p. 39. Cf. Anne

Lombard-Jourdan, *Montjoie et Saint-Denis: Le centre de la Gaule aux origines de Paris et de Saint-Denis* (Paris: CNRS, 1989), pp. 273–6.

31. Nebbiai-Dalla Guarda, *La bibliothèque*, p. 39.
32. See E. Jane Burns, "Portraits of Kingship in the 'Pèlerinage de Charlemagne,'" *Olifant* 10 (1984–5): 164.
33. "De vos saintes reliques, si vus plaist, me donez, 'Que porterai en France, qu'en voil enluminer,'" *Voyage*, 160–1.
34. *Descriptio qualiter*, ed. Rauschen, 111.
35. Suger, *On the Abbey Church of Saint-Denis and its Art Treasures*, ed. and trans. Erwin Panofsky (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1946), p. 21.
36. Suger, *On the Abbey Church*, 87.
37. Vance notes Charles' "spectacular dullness of mind," as demonstrated by his failure to recognize the setting of the Last Supper in the church in Jerusalem, in his "Semiotics and Power," 176.
38. "Respont li patriarches: 'A plentet en avrez:\ Le braz saint Simeon aparmaines en avrez,\ E le chef saint Lazare vus ferai aporter,\ E del sanc saint Estefne ki martir fu pur Deu.'\ Karlemaines l'en rent saluz e amistez." *Voyage*, ed. Picherit, 162–6.
39. "Ben avez espleitez/Quan Deus venistes querre: estre vus dait le melz./ Durrai vus tels reliques, meilurs nen ad suz cel." *Voyage*, ed. Picherit, 167–9.
40. "Ço dist li patriarche: "Ben vus est avenuz;\ Par le men escientre, Deus vus i a cundust!\ Durrai vus tels reliques ke ferunt grant vertuz." *Voyage*, ed. Picherit, 184–6.
41. "Deus est uncore el cel quin volt faire justice!" *Voyage*, ed. Picherit, 213.
42. Cobby, *Ambivalent*, 147.

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